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THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



 VOL. XVII NO. 7 SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1977 25¢

HUEY RELEASED

SEE PAGE 18







Black Panther Party founder and president HUEY P. NEWTON receives bouquet of roses from the children of the members of the Black Panther Party (above). He then delivered a strong statement to the community at a press conference, accompanied by his wife GWEN, ELAINE BROWN and children, which preceded a joyous reception at the Oakland Community Learning Center celebrating his return home to the people. Elaine Brown addresses rally outside of Alameda County Courthouse (right), which county officials unsuccessfully attempted to sabotage by forcing Huey to leave jail an hour earlier than expected.

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Editorial

SORE LOSERS

When San Francisco voters go to the polls this coming Tuesday, August 2, they will face a monumental task: this is, to thwart a concerted attempt by reactionary business interests and their puppet politicians to overthrow popularly elected government in their city. Specifically, San Francisco voters are urged to vote a resounding NO on Propositions A and B on the special election ballot.

In this regard, San Franciscans have a chance not afforded the big cities like New York, Newark and Philadelphia on the East Coast; where Rockefeller trusts, large banking interests and their cohorts have already taken over lock, stock and barrel; where representative government under a bourgeois democracy is a well known joke; where elections are merely a reflex action similar to the shuddering of an already dead carcass.

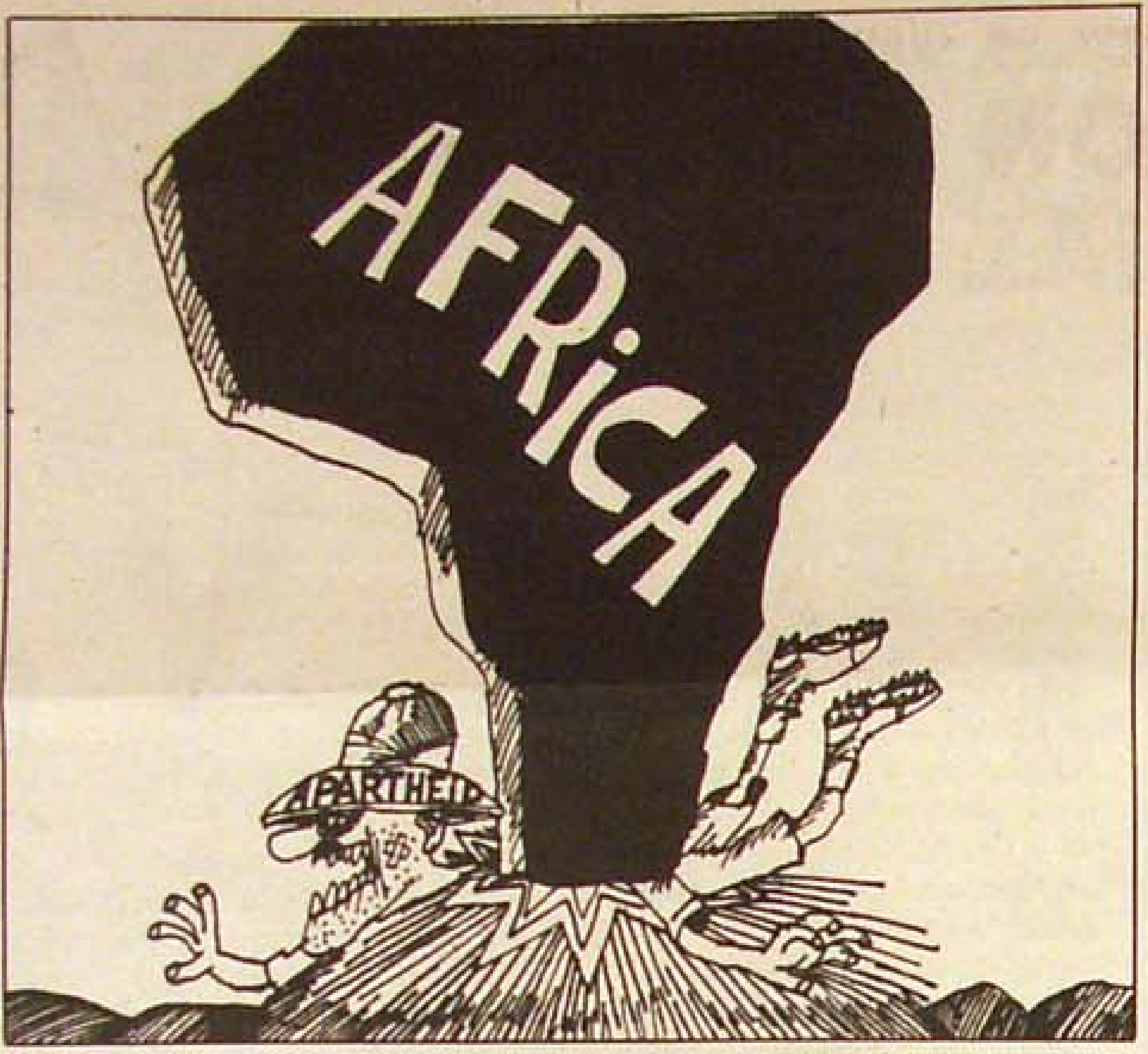
But San Franciscans will still have to foster a $400,000 cost for the special election held because sore losers seek to overturn the results of last November's election; an election in which a conscious and aware public overwhelmingly endorsed the establishment of district elections as the method of selecting the governing Board of Supervisors.

Proposition A, the one seeking just the overthrow of district elections, exposes just how far the local Chamber of Commerce — like its counterparts throughout this country — is both out of touch with contemporary political endeavors and is in big business's back pocket. How many Black

Proposition B, the one seeking the overthrow of the whole shebang — the mayor, district attorney, the sheriff and other public officials, as well as district elections — is sponsored by Supervisor John Barbagelata, a hard core loser, whose campaign for mayor was rejected last year.

But the reactionaries, as we should know, won't stop fighting until the people "make them an offer they can't refuse." Already, the incumbent Board of Supervisors, spearheaded by Dianne Feinstein, a wicked witch if there ever was one, has proposed over a dozen resolutions to overthrow district elections in the November balloting if the August 2 move fails.

A convincing No vote on A and B just might shortshop these future attempts of subversion. If not, it's back to the barricades. □



Letters to the Editor

"I HAVE NOT LOST FAITH OR HOPE IN THE STRUGGLE"

Greetings Comrades:

May the revolution of the oppressed masses continue to move forward in the spirit of our beloved Fallen Comrades, Comrade George, and all those who have sacrificed their lives.

Comrades, I have many things on my mind as I write this message to you. I don't know quite where to start, but all is real, and all of it's me and the way I see it.

Comrades, my name is Robert Allen and at present I am confined in the "Segregation Unit" section of Holman Prison, here at Holman Station, Alabama.

Such are the conditions that exist here: The administration here thrives on its oppression of inmates by the use of fear — fear of brutality, not making parole, of not getting their custody changed. They've got the majority of inmates here running around like scared puppy dogs, afraid to even exercise their basic Constitutional rights. It's a "make waves, no parole or no custody" policy.

The situation is further hampered by the embodying of front-end pets (that is, snitches, bootlickers, administrative "hit men," etc.) who are on the spot when it comes time to vomit out a bunch of administrative false propaganda to outside visitors. I, for one, will and shall always refuse to exchange my manhood and lie for the administration for a few years of materialistic freedom.

I have not lost hope or faith in our struggle for humanity because I have faith in tomorrow. Today injustice, but tomorrow can and will be justice for all of us who are yet struggling on the path of revolution.

I can say truly that I dig THE BLACK PANTHER paper. It is inspiring and educational to the cause of freedom, justice, and equality. Keep up the good work and please send me, a poor political POW, a free subscription of your ontime paper.

Eventually, the oppressed masses' strength will be felt and recognized, and then our unity will become real, and when that day comes our enemies will cease to exist. I, for one, want to see my enemies dead! I can have no pity for this mad, pusillanimous, hypocritical dog! I am a true comrade of the oppressed masses. Armed revolution is our only solution! I remain —

Your Brother & Comrade In Our Struggle,
Bro. Robert Allen
P.O. Box 37
Holman Station, Ala. 36503

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COMMENT

KOSHER FOOD RIOTS, 1902 TO BLACKOUT, 1977: ARE POOR PEOPLE "ANIMALS"?

To many, the vicious, self-righteous flood of anti-Black and anti-poor propaganda used to describe the activities of impoverished New Yorkers in last week's blackout pinpoints a more pressing "social disorder" than any event occurring on that fateful evening. In the following Comment, Black historian Herbert Gutman provides an intriguing analysis of the racist, dehumanizing content of the media's way of characterizing poor people. Dr. Gutman is the author of The Black Family in Freedom and Slavery: 1750-1925.

The blackout and the accompanying social disorders among many very poor Black and Hispanic New Yorkers soon will become part of contemporary urban folklore.

Judging by much that has been written and spoken in the last week, it is possible that too many New Yorkers may remember little more than what some have misleadingly, and unpardonably, described as "the night of the animals."

Others, as reported in the press, characterized the disorderly as "vultures," "a jackal pack," "buffalos," and "predatory animals."

The use of these and similar animal metaphors is inappropriate, but, sadly, predictable.

We learn why by examining similar events in United States history.

After all, disorders by poor Americans, New Yorkers among them, are not new. An examination of some reactions to one such incident distances us from the night of looting and fires so that we can better comprehend what happened.

Consider the following newspaper editorial:

"The class of people. . .who are engaged in this matter have many elements of a dangerous class. They are very ignorant. . . They do not understand the duties or the rights of Americans. They have no inbred or acquired

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THE BLACK PANTHER

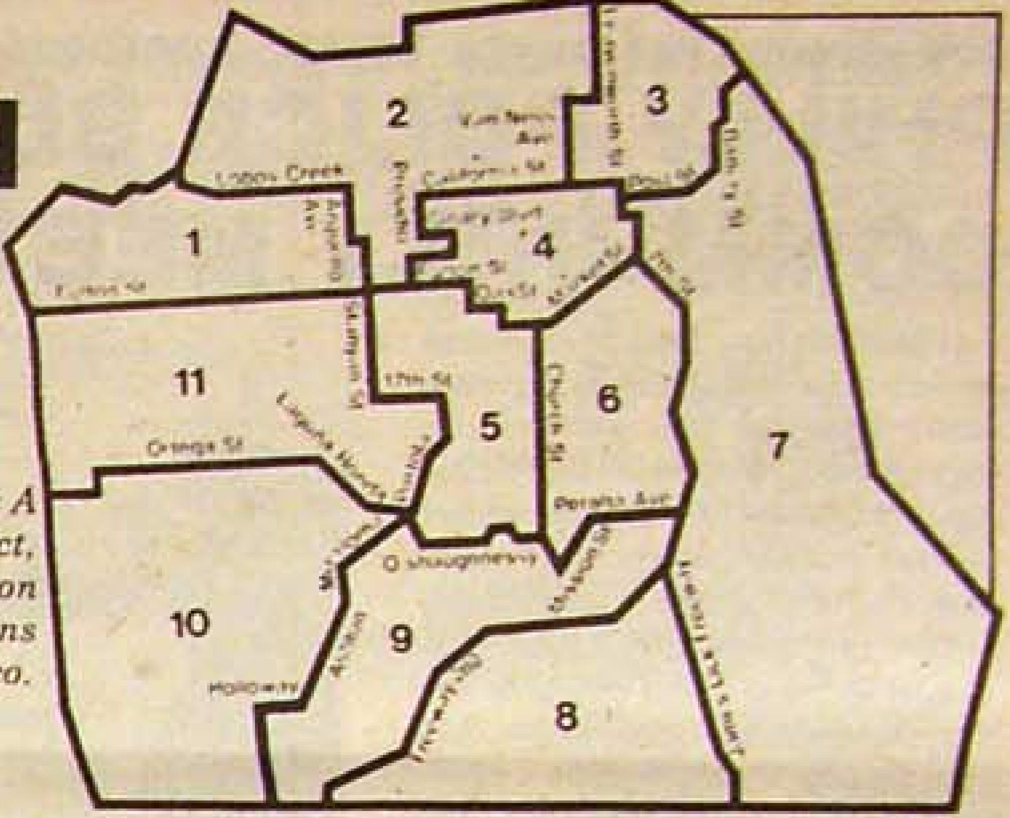
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DISTRICT ELECTIONS AT ISSUE ON AUGUST 2

VOTE NO ON A AND B IN S.F. SPECIAL ELECTION



Propositions A and B are direct, racist attacks on district elections in San Francisco.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - On Tuesday, August 2, Black and poor San Francisco voters will face one of the most crucial elections in the city's history as reactionary forces, headed by Supervisor John Barbagelata, will attempt to repeal newly won district elections and recall elected officials Mayor George Moscone, District Attorney George Freitas and County Sheriff Richard Hongisto.

In opposition to this move, a broad-based coalition of grass-roots community organizations, political activists and labor have been energetically working to bring out the vote in the city's Black, Chicano, Asian, poor and working class neighborhoods — the key to victory for progressive forces on August 2.

Here are the two propositions at issue and their effect on city politics:

PROPOSITION A

Proposition A is a measure aimed at repealing Proposition T, which was approved by voters in last year's November elections and established district elections for the city's Board of Supervisors. Proposition A originated with the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, which wants to retain the power it holds through city-wide elections, which call for expensive campaigns financed by downtown, corporate business interests.

Proposition T, won with a 52 per cent majority — 115,192 votes in favor to 104,524 opposed. This progressive ballot measure received more votes than nine of the 11 supervisors received in their last campaigns.

Proposition A is an insult to San Franciscans since it will repeal a law approved by voters before it has a chance to take effect. VOTE NO ON PROPOSITION A!

PROPOSITION B

Proposition B is a proposed amendment to the city charter authored by Supervisor Barbagelata (who narrowly lost a bid for mayor in 1976), a long-time, staunch enemy of San Francisco's poor and minorities. Many political observers feel that Proposition B was devised by Barbagelata as a thinly veiled attack on his political enemies, particularly arch-rival Mayor Moscone.

As reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle:*

"If Proposition B is approved

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Brooklyn's Bushwick: "The Key Is Survival"

(New York, N.Y.) - Characterized by the federal government in the mid-1960's as predominantly White and non-poor, the Bushwick section of Brooklyn was refused "model city" status, based on outdated 1960 census data. On July 13, the 25-hour blackout here exposed Bushwick, scene of widespread looting, as "one of the worst slums in the country," the *New York Times* reports.

Paul Delaney, an assistant national news editor for the *Times*, describes the 200-block area of Bushwick as leaving "no doubt about its qualifying as a gauge of the typical slum of the seventies."

Before the outbreak of fires, crimes and fear, over 200,000 people lived in the dilapidated section of Brooklyn. Of the 134,000 left, 50 per cent are Spanish-speaking, 40 per cent are

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5



Black youth in Bushwick section of Brooklyn.



Detroit: 10 Years Later

(Detroit, Mich.) - Ten years after a five-day Black rebellion (top photo) that left 43 dead, hundreds injured and thousands homeless and in jail, the area along this city's Rosa Parks Boulevard (bottom photo), formerly 12th Street, remains severely blighted with promised reconstruction yet to come.

The sixth largest city in the nation with a 60 per cent Black population, the "Motor City" of 1977, unlike that of 1967, has: a Black mayor; four (out of nine) Black city council members; a Black school superintendent; a Black county sheriff; a Black police chief; and a police force that is 21 per cent Black. Yet, the city continues to be plagued with skyrocketing unemployment (13.9 per cent in the central city, with the teenage jobless rate two to three times higher) and widespread deteriorating housing — the result of the federal government's failure to rehabilitate city neighborhoods after the 1967 Black uprising.

COMMUNITY RESIDENTS DETAIL NUMEROUS ATROCITIES

PHILLY POLICE BLASTED AT COMMUNITY MEETING

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - A recent conference on police violence here, brought out several instances of abuse by Philadelphia cops, who are presently under federal investigation on charges of brutality.

The five branches of the Philadelphia NAACP brought the mounting tension to a head. The civil rights organization sponsored the day-long hearing featuring testimony by victims of and witnesses to Philadelphia police terror. More than 200 people attended, the *Militant* reports.

Spencer Cox, the soft-spoken Quaker who directs the city's American Civil Liberties Union, set a backdrop for the hearing.

"Today," Cox said, "we will hear authenticated accounts of beatings and torture, cruelty, racial insults, perjury, humiliation, harassment, and political oppression routinely inflicted on the people of Philadelphia by its police force."

The cops, he said, "distinguish between rich and poor, the powerful and the powerless. We will have no stockbrokers as witnesses today."

Cox rejected the claim that police brutality is caused by "a few bad apples." "The police are an occupation army in Philadelphia," he said. We are confronting "a policy, a system."

ARRESTED 13 TIMES

James Crandall is a fifty-one-year-old Black man. Between 1973 and 1975 he was arrested thirteen times for bookmaking. He has never been convicted. He told of repeated searches and harassment that forced him to sell his small corner store and go onto welfare. "My children are ashamed," he said softly.

His skin color explains why the cops, always White, subject him to this. The police cruelly fabricated, "aliases," like "Wobbly Willie," because of his walk and "Killer Kane Crandall," because he uses a cane. He has multiple sclerosis. One of his arrests was the hundredth bust made by the cops in a month. They put a dunce cap on him and took pictures of him in a jail cell, to celebrate.

Helen Gagliardi's story is half a decade old. Her son was walking home from a coffee shop. He was mistaken by police for "someone else," pursued by car and on foot, beaten to a pulp, shot twice, and then left on a doorstep as his life oozed out. For the past five years she has been seeking justice, and for the past five years the police and the city have been stalling.

"They offered me $5,000 for my boy," she said, her blue eyes filling with tears. "Like he was a pair of shoes."

She has won a suit settlement for $116,000 that the Rizzo administration opposes paying and has appealed. "I don't care about the money," Gagliardi said.

She is a widow and, since her son's death, has been under medical supervision, unable to work.

"He was all I had," she said. When asked the name of the cop who killed her son, her voice did not falter. "Robert Flint," she spat out, along with his badge number.

He is still on the force.

Ronnie Walker was strolling to a variety store in the Black community of North Philadelphia. He and his buddy Lester Ander-

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Latinos march against Philly police violence and (right) Black resident testifies on police abuse.

This Week In Black History

July 27, 1816

On July 27, 1816, Fort Blount, on Apalachicola Bay, Florida, was attacked by U.S. troops. The Fort, which was held by about 300 fugitive slaves and 20 Indian allies, was captured after a siege of several days.

July 30, 1863

President Lincoln issued an "eye for an eye" order on July 30, 1863, and warned the Southern Confederacy that U.S. union troops would shoot a rebel P.O.W. for every Black P.O.W. shot and would condemn a rebel P.O.W. to a life of hard labor for every Black P.O.W. sold into slavery.

July 30, 1866

On July 30, 1866, Edward G. Walker, the son of the abolitionist David Walker, and Charles L. Mitchell were elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives as a result of the Reconstruction of the South following its defeat in the Civil War. They were the first Black people elected to an American legislative assembly.



Black victim of syphilis experiment.

July 25, 1972

On July 25, 1972, U.S. government officials admitted that Black people were cruelly used as human guinea pigs in syphilis experiments at Tuskegee Institute and that physicians had permitted four-hundred victims to go untreated for 40 years. No medical treatment was given the 400 Black participants in this experiment, even though penicillin, which gives relief and often cures, had been available to the medical profession since the late 1940s. The study was organized to determine from autopsies of dead victims what untreated syphilis did to the human body.



Discarded trash and junk in West Oakland.

Illegally Dumped Garbage Angers West Oakland, Mayor Wilson

(Oakland, Calif.) - Black residents of West Oakland, enraged over garbage and trash being illegally dumped in their community, formally lodged their protest with the Oakland City Council last week — with an equally furious Mayor Lionel Wilson demanding to know why their sanitation needs are not maintained.

At last Tuesday's late night City Council session, Hugh Bassette of the 25th Street Neighborhood Group, along with other Black West Oakland residents, complained that garbage was being illegally and unceremoniously dumped in certain spots adding that City Hall has refused to take any action.

Bassette said by way of example, that a cluttered house next to his home has become a fire danger to the entire block.

"The Council needs to give some direction," said Bassette, "to the people in some of these offices about the fact that you want them to be more responsive to the people in the community."

At the Council meeting mention was made of a Community Development "junk pick-up" program, but assistant City Manager David Newfarmer explained that this program goes through the neighborhood only once a year.

Wilson, at that point, sharply commented, "I'll bet you wouldn't leave it up on Wood Drive (where Newfarmer lives) very long."

"Frankly, I'm appalled," said Wilson, the city's first Black mayor, "to think that garbage can pile up in this city and nothing is done about it, and the city has no provision to deal with it."

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"TIP CREDIT" TO CONTINUE, "WE'LL TAKE WHAT WE CAN GET," SAYS ORGANIZED LABOR

MINIMUM WAGE HIKE DEMANDS IGNORED

(Washington, D.C.) - Indications are growing that Black and poor working people's demands for a significant hike in the federal minimum wage in 1977 will again be thwarted — given the hardline Carter administration position and the weak, compromise "we'll take what we can get" stance adopted by organized labor.

Likely too, say these reports, are the prospects that demands for elimination of the "tip credit" law — whereby employers of workers on jobs where they regularly receive tips are only required to pay one half the minimum wage (currently $2.30 an hour) in salaries — will be ignored by Congress.

Nearly 2.2 million workers, almost all in the food service industry, are discriminated against by such "tip credit."

Some 1.6 million of these workers are women — more than 50 per cent are Black women. Only 20 per cent of the 2.2 million are unionized.

As *Guardian* reporter Ben Bedell details:

When Willie May Jackson first went to work as a waitress at the Marriot House hotel in Washington, D.C., she knew the wages would be low. But she didn't realize how low.

In fact, she had no wages at all. Every penny she made came from customers' tips. The company required her to turn over all tips which were then paid back as her paycheck.



Black and poor men and women workers, despite their co-opted unions, are seeking a meaningful increase in the federal minimum wage.



Ms. Jackson, at that time, got no guaranteed minimum wage and her tips varied widely from week to week and season to season.

"They said that under the law they only had to give us the minimum wage and that we should be grateful to get anything above that," Ms. Jackson recently told Congressional subcommittee.

Until 1976, when Ms. Jackson and a group of women brought suit against the company, the practice of substituting tips for wages was perfectly legal. Under the minimum wage law, enacted along with the other Depression-era social reforms, workers receiving tips are partially exempted from minimum wage coverage.

It was not until Jackson sued, though, that the practice of paying workers completely out of tips was outlawed.

"But how can you live on a wage of $1.15 an hour?" Ms. Jackson asked Congress. "You couldn't even support yourself, much less your family."

Earlier this year, Representative John Dent of Pennsylvania,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

J.P. Stevens Workers Organize Alabama Plant

(Montgomery, Ala.) - A model of how to conduct a union organizing drive in the heart of the sunbelt is unfolding at the J.P. Stevens plant here.

The 450 workers at Stevens' Boylston plant have built a militant, democratically run campaign that, in contrast to the campaigns at other Stevens plants, sees mass mobilization as its prime weapon.

J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile company in the U.S., has 44,000 workers in 85 plants. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) has organizing drives going at about 25 plants, as well as a national boycott against Stevens products.

At the plant here, rank-and-file participation in the organizing drive is much higher than at most other plants with ACTWU campaigns. The union meetings are chaired by rank-and-file workers elected by their coworkers.

The planning and execution of organizing tasks — from publicity to house calls to preparation of legal challenges to the company — are in the hands of the workers.

The results demonstrate the success of the approach. All but 39 workers at the plant have joined the union. The in-plant organizing committee, the group that carries out unionizing work, has over 200 people.

When the union first began organizing here several years ago, they found particularly fertile ground. With Black workers

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United J.P. Stevens workers at the company's Boylston plant in Montgomery, Alabama, have waged a successful organizing campaign.

POWERFUL AUTOBIOGRAPHY BY DISABLED VIETNAM VETERAN

"BORN ON THE FOURTH OF JULY": AN "ALL-AMERICAN" PROGRAM BACKFIRES

[*Born on the Fourth of July* by Ron Kovic, pocketbook edition published by McGraw-Hill, 1976, 224 pages, $1.95.]

"I am the living death
the memorial day on wheels
I am your yankee doodle dandy
your john wayne come home
your fourth of july firecracker
exploding in the grave."

—Ron Kovic

Something went wrong in the "Programming of Ron Kovic, All-American Boy" — the drama of nonfiction produced by the narrow vision of a typical White middle-class suburb and directed by the lies of U.S. propaganda.

Yes, indeed, something went wrong in the "Programming of Ron Kovic," the honest-to-goodness story, co-starring an internationally assembled cast of thousands, that began its run in the floodlights of life's centerstage on July 4, 1946, in Massapequa, Long Island.

It was a tragic, unforeseen accident that took place in his 21st consecutive year, in 1965, an accident that took place just when the "Program" looked like it was about to capture another foreign market, this time in Vietnam.

And now, as a result of that irreparable, nerve-shattering accident, 12 years later, Kovic, the main subject in the "Programming of . . ." has turned to confront both the producer and the director, fighting this time to capture the attention of their human souls in an attempt to make them whole.

What went "wrong" in the "Programming" was that Ron Kovic didn't die in Vietnam, and worse, he didn't hide from the "shame" of it all when he returned to America.

You see, what happened was this: in 1965, while serving his second tour of duty "defending American democracy" in Vietnam, Sgt. Ron Kovic — lover of Mickey Mantle, John Wayne, snowball fights and the U.S. space program, a formerly shy but proud high school athletics star and devout Catholic, who not only hit a home run the first time at bat in the Little League but dutifully enlisted in the Marine Corps upon graduation at age 18 — was leading an attack on a contested village near the DMZ, when, in his words, "a loud crack went off next to my right ear as a 30-caliber slug tore through my





U.S. troops attack Vietnam village and (right) author/activist RON KOVIC at anti-war rally.

right shoulder, blasted through my lung and smashed my spinal cord to pieces."

Ron Kovic was totally paralyzed from mid-chest down: "All I could feel was cheated. . .All I could feel was the worthlessness of dying right here in this place at this moment for nothing."

Kovic's autobiography, *Born on the Fourth of July*, is a raw, powerful, personal and political oddysey, a "confession" he once called it, that eloquently presents the standard "Programming" and subsequent, radical "de-Programming" as the All-American Boy transformed into a militant Anti-War Protester.

SHOCKED CONVENTION

Millions may remember seeing Ron Kovic as the flack-jacketed, wheelchair-confined man who shocked the fun-filled festivities at the 1976 Democratic National Convention in New York, when he gave a stirring "Full Amnesty Now!" seconding speech in draft evader's Fritz Efaw's symbolic bid for the Vice Presidency.

Still others may remember Kovic as one of three handicapped Vietnam veterans who horrified the crowd at the 1972 Republican National Convention in Miami, shouting, "Stop the bombing; Stop the war," as Nixon began his acceptance speech.

Others may remember seeing Kovic cruelly dumped from his wheelchair, and brutally stomped and arrested by plainclothes members of the Los Angeles Police Department in a West Coast protest earlier that same year.

While the crippling bullet wound was a cause for remorse and despair, what first got Kovic started along the winding road to progressive politics was the shabby, dehumanizing treatment he received at the Veterans Administration (V.A.) hospitals once he returned to the States.

Kovic's depressing portrayal of the twisted bodies bureaucratically lined up in the hospital corridor for their morning enemas — "the Six O'Clock Special" — and showers — "a car wash" — make the reader wince with empathy.

His descriptions of having to throw bread on the radiator to feed the rats — "it's a lot better than having the bastards nibble at your toes during the night" — is enraging.

"It's a madhouse," Kovic writes, "it's a crazy house, it's a wild zoo, and we're the animals, we're the animals all neatly tucked into these beds, waking up every morning puking at the green wall and smelling urine on the floor. We're hurting and we're praying that we can get out of this place. Somebody, give us back our bodies!"

Slowly, going through the depressions and attempts to escape and adjust, Kovic begins to realize the truth behind the American "rah-rah" facade.

"I fought in Vietnam and I've got a right to be treated decently," he screams in the V.A. hospital upon a return trip.

"Vietnam don't mean nothin' to me or any of these other people," a hospital aide spits back. "You can take your Vietnam and shove it up your ass."

Then came Kent State, and Kovic's first participation in an anti-war protest demonstration, the 1970 March on Washington where D.C. police beat several hundred protesters at the Washington Monument reflecting pool.

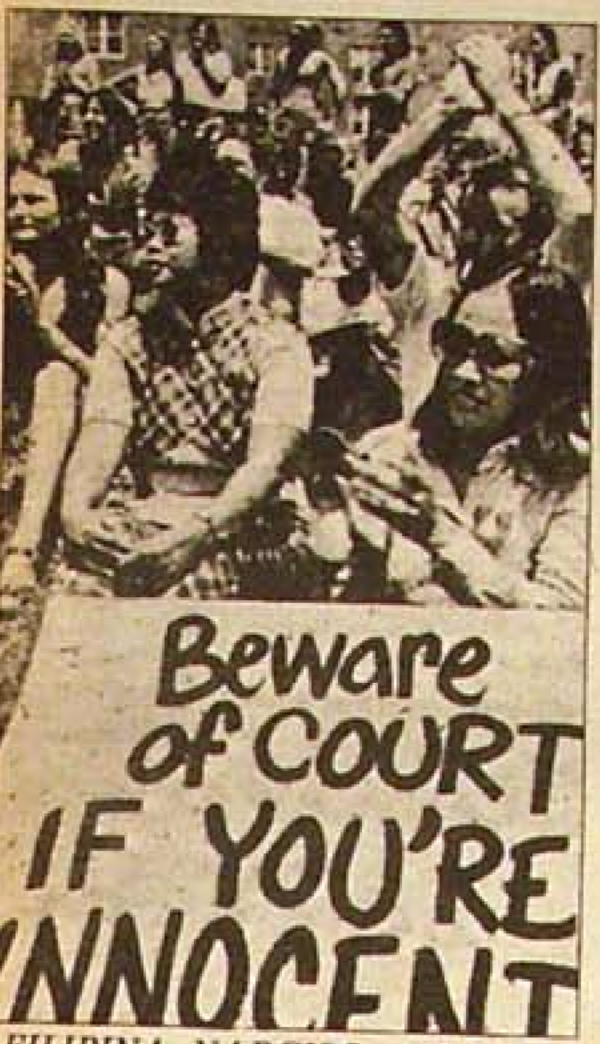
Relocating in California, Kovic seeks out the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) group, who provide him with a friendship he hasn't felt since he was on the front lines.

The group also provides Kovic with an organized opportunity to speak out against the war: "I'm an example of the war. Look at me. Do you want your sons to look like this?"

The arrests, his unsuccessful relations with women, and the ongoing strain of coming to grips with his new reality, deepens his political awareness to the point where (writing about himself as "he"), Kovic realizes: "He had been born on the Fourth of July, he had been their Yankee Doodle Dandy, their all-American boy. He had given them almost his whole being in the war and now, after all that, they weren't satisfied with three-quarters being gone, they wanted to take the rest of him. It was crazy but he knew that's what they wanted. They wanted his head and his mind, the numb legs and the wheelchair, they wanted everything. It had all been one big dirty trick and he didn't know what to think anymore. All he had tried to do was tell the truth about the war. But now he just wanted it to be quiet, to be where they weren't cursing at him and beating him and jailing him. Lying and calling him a traitor. He had never been anything but a thing to them, a thing to put a uniform on and train to kill, a young thing to run through the meat-grinder, a cheap small nothing thing to make mincemeat out of. . .

"They wanted to make him hide like he was hiding now. How many more, he thought, how many more like him were out there hiding on a thousand other

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FILIPINA NARCISO (left) and LENORA PEREZ at rally in their support.

National Committee Mobilizes For Support Of Filipino Nurses

(Ann Arbor, Mich.) - Over 800 people rallied here last week in support of two Filipino nurses, Filipina Narcisco and Lenora Perez, falsely convicted in federal court for poisoning patients — the beginning phase of a nationwide mobilization effort that has been launched for a new trial.

Ms. Narciso, 31, and Ms. Periz, 33, along with observers and supporters, were stunned by a verdict that was based on no concrete evidence.

A Detroit jury convicted them on charges of conspiracy and five non-fatal patient poisonings that occurred in the Veteran Administration hospital here two years ago.

"On the 13th day of July" (the day of the verdict), Ms. Narciso said, "justice died. What happened to me and Leoni could happen to anyone. I hate to think that one day it could happen to you."

The prosecution's case against the two nurses was entirely circumstantial, which a federal prosecutor admitted. The government claimed that the nurses deliberately injected the drug Pavulon in seven patients — two of whom died, reports the *Guardian*. The drug has the effect of causing breathing failures.

In 41 days of testimony from 78 witnesses the prosecution failed to produce one witness who saw the nurses injecting the drug. None of the witnesses claimed to have overheard the two Filipino

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INMATE EXPLOSION FEARED OVER SEXUALLY ABUSIVE GUARD

B.P.P. DEMANDS REMOVAL OF BLACK DEPUTY FROM COUNTY JAIL

(Oakland, Calif.) - At the request of the inmates of Alameda County Jail, an attorney for the Black Panther Party's (BPP) Legal Aid and Educational Program has sent a letter to Sheriff Tom Houchins demanding an investigation into the sexually abusive conduct of Deputy Sheriff M. Lawrence and the end of the Black guard's assignment to the Alameda County Courthouse jail complex so as to ward off an explosion of prisoner outrage over his actions.

Lawrence is known to regularly harass the wives and teenage daughters of imprisoned inmates visiting the jail to have sex with him. This situation has caused the tempers of prisoners to boil.

According to both the family of Ronald Mitchell, a pretrial prisoner at the jail, and an inmate eyewitness, Dennis Hall, Lawrence, on one occasion, offered to drive Mitchell's 13-year-old daughter home while in the process of transporting Hall back to the county jail.

During this time, Lawrence made blatant sexual advances toward young Raymonde Mitchell after he had lured her into the patrol car. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

A signed affadavit by Hall confirmed the fact that on June 21 of this year, between 4:30 and 5:00 p.m., Lawrence, accompanied by Deputy Sheriff McCoy, actually stopped and picked up Ms. Mitchell and two younger children and drove them to their East Oakland home.

Inmate Ronald Mitchell considered physical action against the perverted deputy, but after talking to Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton, who was also incarcerated at the county jail at the time, decided to have THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper expose Lawrence's sick actions.

Meanwhile, the BPP Legal Aid and Educational Program secured the services of attorney Doron Weinberg, who wrote a letter to Alameda County Sheriff Tom Houchins which stated:

"I am writing on behalf of

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Alameda County deputy sheriff harassing supporters of Huey P. Newton during recent bail hearing. An abusive, sexually perverted deputy at the Alameda County Jail has infuriated inmates there.

FIVE BLACK YOUTH FALSELY CHARGED WITH MURDER

500 Rally To Demand Freedom Of Dawson 5

(Dawson, Ga.) - Over 500 people gathered at a Baptist church here in early July to mobilize support for the Dawson 5, five local Black youth who face the death penalty if convicted on a false murder charge.

The case, according to Rev. Austin Ford of Emmaus House, a community center in Atlanta, is "the greatest moral battle of our times."

Rev. Ford was among the more than 100 people who traveled to Dawson in cars and buses to attend a support rally at the Sardis Baptist Church here.

Speakers at the gathering emphasized the necessity to register to vote and to oppose racist injustice.

Activist Millard Fuller told the crowd to "go out into this (Terrell) county, and talk to the Black folks and White folks who are not here and give them courage.

". . .Tell them," Fuller said, "they're going to die some time, and they ought to spend their days on this earth doing what's right and not hiding under a rock."

Defense attorney Millard Farmer, noting the trial had been set for August 1, said it would take public pressure to keep the prosecutors from putting off the case again.

"It's going to depend on the people of this country," Farmer said. "If they bring pressure on the courts, it'll happen. If not, the courts will back down."

In the week leading up to the meeting, police continually harassed volunteers leafletting for the event and conspicuously drove their police cars around the church where preparations were under way.

As recently as 1969 county officials were saying they could not find a single Black person

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Mass rally at Sardis Baptist Church in Dawson, Georgia, in support of the Dawson 5.

PROTEST ON STEPS OF U.S. SUPREME COURT

NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST AGAINST BAKKE DECISION SET FOR FALL

(Berkeley, Calif.) - A planning meeting will be held this weekend in San Francisco to organize for a National Day of Protest against the racist Bakke decision, it was announced here recently.

The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision will be holding the July 30-31 meeting to finalize a plan of action for and leading up to the national day, tentatively scheduled for October 8.

The points of unity for this National Day of Protest are:

1.) To overturn the Bakke decision;

2.) To oppose the Bakke decision as part of the fight for racial equality and justice; and

3.) To organize and mobilize for the National Day of Protest, focusing on the U.S. Supreme Court hearing on the case, slated to be held this fall.

The protest will both demand that the U.S. Supreme Court overturn the Bakke decision and will seek immediate, effective implementation and expanding of affirmative action programs for minorities in education and employment.

The outcry against the Bakke decision stems from a 1976 California Supreme Court ruling that the special minority admissions program of the University of California was "reverse discrimination."

A 35-year-old White engineer, Alan Bakke, filed a suit against U.C. after he was denied admission, falsely contending that his qualifications were superior to those of minority students admitted under a special admissions program.

If allowed to let stand, the Bakke decision could mean an end to not only college and university special admissions programs but to affirmative action programs in employment also. □



Black mother demands affirmative action in education.

Vote No On A and B In S.F. Special Election

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

by a majority of voters, and if it wins more votes than Proposition A, in the event both measures are approved, Proposition B would:

•"Cut short the terms of the mayor, district attorney and sheriff, which run until 1980. These officials would have to run for office again this November.

•"Require candidates for all city offices, except those for assessor and public defender, to win a majority vote for election."

Proposition B would unjustly recall duly elected officials who have no proven record of corruption or dishonesty in office. VOTE NO ON PROPOSITION B!

The special election, forced by the supporters of A and B, is both racist and undermining. Maxine Newman of the No on A and B Committee points out, "Special elections traditionally have much stronger turnouts in conservative, White, middle and upper class communities.

"I believe that's why," says Ms. Newman, "the Chamber of Commerce and Barbagelata chose to hold the election this August.

In last November's municipal elections, the city's Black, Chicano and poor districts overwhelmingly endorsed district elections, and passed Proposition T with the following percentages:

•District 4—Western Addition (predominantly Black), 67 per cent;

•District 6 — Mission (predominantly Chicano), 68 per cent;

•District 7 — Bayview/Hunters Point (Black), 65 per cent; and

•District 9 — Ingleside (Black and Chicano), 60 per cent.

Presently, five of the current supervisors (Barbagelata, Molinari, Francois, Kopp and Tamras) live in the upper-middle class Sunset district and, not surprisingly, this is where district elections lost by the biggest margin, gaining only 32 per cent of the vote

As *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen explains, "We've had ward politics for years — one ward run by a powerful political-economic coalition. . ."

One of the issues in this campaign is that the August 2 special election will cost taxpayers $400,000. City Registrar of Voters Thomas Kearny, allegedly addressing this issue, has drawn up a plan which will supposedly save taxpayers between $32,000 and $40,000, reports the *San Francisco Sun-Reporter*.

The plan calls for consolidating voting precincts. However, the Black communities of San Francisco rightfully argue that the plan affects their districts more than the rest of the city.

A class action suit has been filed in an attempt to stop the plan on the grounds that it is discriminatory. A temporary restraining order has been won, barring Kearny from mailing out precinct notices until the case is fully heard.

Statistics reveal that the Black districts of the Western Addition, Bayview/Hunters Point and Ingleside would be the hardest hit. Anywhere from a third to a half of the voters in these districts would be redirected to polling places farther from their homes.

By contrast, reports the *Sun-Reporter*, the upper-class Sunset district is the area least affected by the consolidation plan.

The No on A and B Committee argues, "They're confusing things more than they already are in a special election. They should be going out of their way to make it easier to vote, but instead they're making it harder."

The list of supporters for the No on A and B campaign is very impressive, encompassing leaders, activists and organizations from all of San Francisco's diverse neighborhoods. A massive door-to-door canvassing operation has been instituted to insure a high turnout in the city's long-neglected Black, poor and working-class communities.

A defeat of these openly racist ballot measures would give voters a chance to change the entire complexion of the city's Board of Supervisors and will prove the way for district elections in November.

In the fall elections, for the first time, poor and working class voters will have the opportunity to elect representatives who will be responsive to their needs □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Surgery Bias

(Boston, Mass.) - Black surgery patients are consistently relegated to less skilled and experienced surgeons than Whites, a study released last week by Dr. Lawrence D. Egbert of John Hopkins University shows. Blacks studied were two to four times more likely than Whites to be under the care of resident doctors still in training, the study said.

Rape Conviction Overturned

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Women's groups across the country have angrily denounced a decision by a federal judge here who reversed a rape conviction. Justice Lynn Compton overturned the conviction of Clifford Alan Hunt last week because the victim was hitchhiking and therefore, in the judge's opinion, leading the defendant to the belief "the female would consent to sexual relations."

Aliens Plan

(Washington, D.C.) - Following recent widespread condemnation of the inhumane treatment of undocumented workers, President Carter will this week propose to Congress legislation granting full amnesty to "illegal aliens" who have been working in this country for seven years or longer. However, undocumented workers who have been here less than seven years would be denied most social services, and would not be permitted to bring their families. Carter's proposal has been rejected by a wide number of organizations urging full amnesty to all undocumented workers.

Hanafi Muslims Convicted

(Washington, D.C.) - Three Hanafi Moslems including the group's leader, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis, were convicted last week of second degree murder, conspiracy and eight counts of kidnapping for the 39-hour seizure of 149 hostages in three buildings here last March. Nine other Hanafi co-defendants were convicted on the conspiracy and kidnapping charges. Khaalis, also convicted of three counts of assault, had demanded during the takeover that five Black Muslims convicted of the 1973 murder of seven members of his family be delivered to him for retribution.

PRESIDENT SAYS HE HAS "NO APOLOGIES TO MAKE"

VERNON JORDAN ATTACKS CARTER FOR NEGLECTING POOR

(Washington, D.C.) - National Urban League (NUL) Executive Director Vernon Jordan accused President Carter last Sunday of neglecting the needs of the urban poor, warning that an "institutional retreat from civil rights is infecting this nation."

Jordan's stinging criticism came in the keynote address opening the 67th annual NUL National Convention meeting at the Washington Hilton here where some 8,700 delegates gathered for a four-day conference.

Calling for increased pressure on Carter by Black leaders and other progressive forces in the country, the 41-year-old Jordan said the President must "show he understands the despair and the anger, the hopes and the needs of the urban poor.

"If the President can go to Clinton, Massachusetts, and to Yazoo City (Mississippi), he can go to New York," continued the Black NUL head, who urged Carter to meet with "the looters and the looted" who live in New York's poor and oppressed communities.

In his prepared speech and during a news conference held before the convention opened, Jordan assailed Carter for failing to keep promises he made to Black and poor people during the 1976 Presidential campaign.

"Long before he was even a candidate for the Presidency," Jordan said, "Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia came to Urban League meetings proudly wearing our equality pin." However, the NUL executive director went on, "The list of what the administration has not done far exceeds its list of accomplishments."

Repeating a concern expressed by NAACP Board Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson at the NAACP Convention in St. Louis last month, Jordan criticized the Carter administration for concentrating on balancing the budget and thereby ignoring the needs of oppressed people.

"Black people and poor people resent the stress on balanced budgets instead of balanced lives," Jordan emphasized. "We resent unfulfilled promises of jobs, compromises on voting reform to win conservative support and the continued acceptance of high unemployment."

The Urban League leader said that Carter would have a "good opportunity" to respond to the

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The Carter administration has done little to ease the despair of unemployment.

Carter To Poor Women Seeking Abortions: Tough Luck!

(Washington, D.C.) - Essentially stating that the federal government should make "moral" decisions which determine the lives of poor people, while allowing the rich to make those decisions for themselves, President Carter acknowledged here recently that his position against federal aid for abortions is discriminatory against women who cannot afford them.

Saying that much of life is unfair, Carter commented that it was not the duty of the government to make opportunities equal, particularly when a "moral factor" is involved.

In his nationally televised news conference, Carter reaffirmed his support of the Supreme Court decision that states were not required to spend federal Medicaid funds for elective abortions.

When asked "how fair" he believed it was "that women who can afford to get an abortion can go ahead and have one and women who cannot are excluded from this," Carter responded:

"Well, as you know, there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't.

"But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved."

Reports indicate that the Carter administration is somewhat split over the President's stand, which differs from his campaign position that while he personally opposed abortion, he supported the Supreme Court decision leaving the matter to the discretion of a woman and her doctor.

According to the *San Francisco Examiner*, Carter (a reborn Southern Baptist), supported by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano (a devout Catholic), is in conflict with his closest aides and other top officials. Members in the "opposition" group are said to include Vice President Mondale and the White House specialist on health issues, Peter Bourne. □



The Supreme Court and the federal government have denied poor women the right to federally-funded abortions.



The CIA has been exposed for conducting secret tests on our cities.

New Evidence On 14-Year C.I.A. Project To Control Human Behavior

(Washington, D.C.) - The Central Intelligence Agency conducted a 14-year program to find ways to "control human behavior" through the use of chemical, biological and radiological material, according to agency documents made public last week.

John Marks, a free lance journalist and an associate of the Center for National Security Studies, asserted at a news conference that Adm. Stansfield Turner, director of Central Intelligence, in a letter last week, "seriously distorted" what the CIA research programs involved.

"To be sure, drugs were part of it," Marks charged, "but so were such other techniques as electric shock, radiation, ultrasonics, psychosurgery, psychology and incapacitating agents, all of which were referred to in documents I have received " under the Freedom of Information Act.

The documents made public last week and the disclosure by the CIA two weeks ago that it had found another cache of previously undiscovered records suggests broader experimentation on unwitting humans by the CIA and its paid researchers than had been publicly known before.

CIA spokesmen declined comment on Mr. Marks' charges.

Marks distributed 20 documents that described among others, the following incidents:

In 1956, the CIA contracted with a private physician to test

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Are Poor People "Animals"?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

respect for law and order as the basis of the life of the society into which they have come. . .Resistance to authority does not seem to them necessarily wrong, only risky, and if it ceases to be risky the restraint it can have on their passions is very small; practically it disappears. . .The instant they take the law into their own hands, the instant they begin the destruction of property and assail peaceable citizens and the police, they should be handled in a way that they can understand and cannot forget. . .let the blow fall instantly and effectually. . .

"These rioters were plainly desperate. They meant to defy the police and were ready for severe treatment. They did not get treatment nearly severe enough, and they are therefore far more dangerous than they were before. . . ."

These words have a familiar ring. During the last week, for example, the well-known behavioral psychologist Ernest Dichter told us that "people resort to savage behavior when the brakes of civilization fail," and the futurist Herman Kahn said of the disorderly in New York City:

"They have no idea of what moral standards are. This 'suppressed rage' idea is crap. This kind of reasoning will make the same thing happen all over again."

NOT PUBLISHED

But the editorial quoted above was not published last week. It appeared in the *New York Times* on May 24, 1902. And the rioters described were not poor disorderly Black and Hispanic New Yorkers. They were poor disorderly immigrant Jewish women, mostly Orthodox and mostly living on the Lower East Side.

The 1902 and 1977 disorders differ in important ways. Poor Jewish women, mostly housewives, formed the Ladies Anti-Beef Trust Association to protest the rapidly rising price of kosher meat and the betrayal of a promised boycott of wholesale distributors by Jewish retail butchers.

They boycotted the retail butchers, battered butcher shops that remained open, threw meat into the streets and poured kerosene on it, and prevented nonboycotters from buying meat. Dozens of women were beaten by police, arrested, and fined. Some spent time in jail.

Their rage had clear objectives. "Eat no meat while Trust is taking meat from the bones of your children and women," said a Yiddish circular decorated with a skull and crossbones. Some women called for a rabbi to fix the price of meat for the entire New York Jewish community, as in the East European *shtetl*, or village. Others formed a cooperative retail outlet.

The disorders started on the Lower East Side on a Thursday morning, ceased on Friday at sundown, and resumed the following evening, spreading to Williamsburg, Brownsville, East Harlem, the South Bronx, and to Newark's and Boston's poor Jewish communities.

Angry Jewish women punished retail butchers by destroying their merchandise and property. Although no looting occurred, a *New York World* reporter compared the women to "a pack of wolves."

Using such animal metaphors to describe very poor and sometimes disorderly Americans has a long history. It began well before July, 1977, even earlier than May, 1902.

Disorders among the Jersey City Irish seeking wages due them from the Erie Railroad in 1859 convinced the Jersey City *American Standard* that they were "animals. . .a mongrel mass of ignorance and crime and superstition."

A generation later, the *Chicago Post Mail* said the city's Bohemian poor were "depraved beasts."

And the city's discontented East European residents were scorned by the *Chicago Times* as "Slavonic wolves" from "European dens."

The animal metaphor always serves a base function. It separates the *behavior* of the discontented poor (striking, rioting, looting, boycotting) from the *conditions* that shape their discontent.



Black and poor New Yorkers saw recent blackout as a chance to get back at the businesses which exploit them daily.

Animal behavior, it is wrongly believed, is "natural" and "lawless" — therefore inexplicable. The best that can be done is to restrain it. The most appropriate responses: the leash, the cage, and the National Guard.

Such thinking distances the successful, the comfortable, and the powerful ("us") from what is social, and therefore human, in the behavior of the very poor and powerless ("them").

That is just as true in 1977 as in 1902 and in 1859; it is just as true in the age of electric power as in the age of horse power. It prevents us from understanding what they are telling us about themselves and their condition.

Mrs. Rebecca Ablowitz, one of the Lower East Side Jewish women arrested in 1902, had a good deal to tell her contemporaries. In "The World of Our Fathers," Irving Howe reports the following exchange between her and a magistrate:

"Why do you riot?"

"Your Honor, we know our wounds. We see how thin our children are and that our husbands haven't strength to work. . ."

"But you aren't allowed to riot in the street."

"We don't riot. But if all we did was to weep at home, nobody would notice it; so we have to do something to help ourselves."

The magistrate fined her $3.

Women like Mrs. Ablowitz were condemned as "lacking an inbred and acquired respect for law and order," deserving little more than "severe treatment" and "blows," and belonging to "a pack of wolves." Now, from the distance of 75 years, we know better about the world of our mothers and grandmothers.

But do we understand enough about ourselves and the world in which the contemporary American poor live to comprehend the pained message that came to us on the deplorably misnamed "night of the animals?"□

Brooklyn's Bushwick Neighborhood: "The Key Is Survival"

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Black and five per cent comprise a small Italian working class earning $10,000 or more annually.

The Black and Hispanic families that live in Bushwick mostly live in two and three-story wooden buildings with imitation brick siding that is falling off many of the houses, Delaney notes. More than one family resides in almost all of the dwellings.

Typical of poor minority communities throughout the country, unemployment is high in Bushwick, over 30 per cent, with joblessness among the youth twice as high, according to James B. Carroll, executive director of the Bushwick Neighborhood Coordinating Council. Carroll also said that over 60 per cent of the area's residents receive some public aid.

BROADWAY STORES

When the blackout began, stores and shops along Broadway were looted. The looting continued until the next day when police reinforcements arrived. Long denied the necessities of life, Bushwick dwellers carted away loads of food, clothing and furniture.

To those New Yorkers and others "shocked" by the looting — which did not occur on such a high level during the 1965 blackout — Carroll explained, "Things are different now. Some people don't realize it or don't want to know, but times are harder for those who are poor.

"They did it because it was easy to do," Carroll continued. "People feel the cheap stores rip them off all the time. The blackout provided the people the chance to rip off the stores. . . ."

Among Bushwick community leaders, no moral judgement was made of whether the looting was right or wrong. Juan Cruz, sales manager for Popular Ford Company which has been in Bushwick for 30 years, said:

"It doesn't take much to get people here in the streets. It's been in the works for a long time and the key is survival. It's not a matter of right or wrong. It will happen again because nobody's doing anything about the problems."□

Exclusive Interview With Huey P. Newton

"I CANNOT BE INTIMIDATED BECAUSE I HAVE GIVEN MY LIFE TO THE PEOPLE"

QUESTION: How does it feel to be back home after being away for close to three years?

HUEY: It feels good. Even though this home is a land of contradictions, it is still my home. There are many friends here. This is where the struggle to which I've devoted my life is; therefore, I feel that this is where I belong. I'm happy to be where I ought to be and where I'm ultimately happiest, among family and friends.

The reception that I received and the work of hundreds, in fact, thousands of people helped me make this long journey home. It was not just a journey from Cuba to the United States, but a journey across three years. I'm very grateful for these things, and they encourage me to believe that the consciousness of the people in this country has been raised and that some of the things that we started out talking about 10 or 11 years ago have now become realities and not just dreams in the minds of people. The people are demanding more and more, and, therefore, my home is a different and better place in that respect.

I can only sum up by saying again that I'm glad to be here. I'm ready to fight my battle in the courtroom against the false charges that are leveled against me. I'm ready to show that the reasons that I was forced to leave this country in 1974 had to do with a large machinery being set against me and my Party. I'm ready to win a victory, not just for myself but for the people, in the sense that we have the right to know what kind of machinations the government is using against us and we have the right to get rid of them. Hopefully, through my case, I will win not only an individual victory for myself and the Party but a victory for the people.

I'm looking forward to these things then, and after we have won that victory, which I feel confident that we are in a position to do, I will devote my entire time to working for and with the people of this country. This is the reason that I have returned, and this is the reason that I'm glad I have returned. I'm glad to be home.



HUEY NEWTON and wife GWEN at spirited OCLC "Welcome Home" celebration.



Youthful participant in Black Panther Party Free Food Program.

Q: What did you think about the welcome your received at the airport and the reception at the Oakland Community Learning Center following your release?

HUEY: As I have indicated, not only did that make me feel very good, but I recognize that the reception meant many people were aware that I am not guilty of the kinds of activities I have been charged with. So many people were not fooled as maybe would have been fooled 10 years ago by the publicity and rumors that have been put out against me and against our Party. It made me know that there is a lot of hope. I have a revolutionary hope and a revolutionary optimism about the end, that is to say that the people will ultimately be victorious. The demonstration at the airport and the demonstration at our Learning Center were a concrete way of observing and knowing that the people are perhaps more conscious now than ever.

Of course, it was also good to see old friends and family members that I had not seen for three years. It made me very happy for us to be reunited and for us to be standing together once again in love and in friendship, close to each other, able to exchange ideas in the future. I saw so many children who are so different now than three years ago, who have grown and developed so beautifully. They represent so much more hope beyond the trial that I am about to engage in and beyond all the other activities that we're involved with because they are the hope for the future. I saw that they have blossomed so beautifully already and that made me feel very warm.

It was very good to see my comrades, brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party, whom I have missed and whom I am looking forward to going forward with on a day-to-day basis in active work, in our Survival Programs and our programs for service to the people.

That reception and those demonstrations were demonstrations of love, not just for me but of our mutual love for each other and the ultimate victory of the people.

Q: Speaking of the welcome at the airport, at that time you cited an agenda of working toward full employment, decent housing and improving health care needs. Since then, you were quoted as saying in an interview that full employment, not socialism, is the number one priority for the American people. Could you explain what you mean by that?

HUEY: That wasn't exactly what I had said. I said that while this is a capitalist society, I believe that full employment is possible under the circumstances in which we live. The big businesses will have to begin to — and can — accommodate the unemployed people of this country. It is an absolute prerequisite for any kind of serious social change that everyone have employment, and that is possible without changing structure, without changing from capitalism to socialism, that is. Even though I have just left a country where everyone is fully employed and where employment is not a problem — a socialist country — I recognize that in the United States, in this capitalist country, it is possible for full employment to be an issue.

I did not say that we would be working for full employment inside of capitalism instead of socialism. I said that this was an immediate goal that we were going to set about

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Exclusive Interview With Huey P. Newton

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accomplishing until such time as the people demand a socialist change. I think that will ultimately come anyway.

We can observe that one of the easiest ways for full employment to be possible and for everyone to immediately have some means of supporting himself or herself, is by the big businesses creating the ability for more people to be employed, which they have the ability to do, and also for the large unions, who very often work hand-in-hand with the large capitalist corporations, to begin to lower their demands for high wages and demand that more people be employed; begin to engage in the sharing of work so that every human being can at least have some kind of wage by which they live out their existence.

Of course, this program goes hand-in-hand with decent housing and decent medical care as well as all the other immediate social problems that face the poor in this country (which are outlined in our Ten Point Platform and Program) — not only the problems of decent housing and adequate medical care, but problems of injustices in the courts, low-quality education and others. These are the ills which our Survival Programs, of which there are some 48, attempt to attack, not only directly by serving a number of people, but also indirectly, by showing people that it is very possible for every human being to receive the benefits of society and for no one to be denied. Our Survival Programs reach out and attempt to serve that dual purpose.

EMPHASIS AT THIS TIME

But our emphasis at this time is going to be not only on the existing programs that we have but to achieve full employment. We believe that here in Oakland, for example, we can begin to create a climate for that to be possible.

At this time, as you may well know, we have been engaged in a program of attempting to get all of the jobs that will come out of the new City Center project to be offered and in fact given over to the unemployed people of Oakland. That number of jobs is quite large, and while it will not satisfy the swelling unemployment rolls, it will begin to cut a large hunk out of the unemployed numbers in this city. We believe that if continue to move in this direction, where we can work toward obtaining jobs by various maneuvers and activities, we can demonstrate in one city, for example, that it is possible for every single employable person to be employed.



Recent July 4 march and rally in West Oakland, California, which protested rapidly escalating unemployment and rising police terror.



Children of Black Panther Party members participating in rally demanding Huey's release from unjust detainment in Canada.

What I mean by unemployable is a person who is totally incapable of working at any job, and that really doesn't mean very many people. For example, our program for disabled people demonstrates that even people who are physically handicapped are capable of engaging in some kind of meaningful activity and being paid a reasonable wage for that activity.

It's almost impossible to talk about an unemployable person. For the many people who are unskilled and unable to get jobs at this moment, we will show that training programs can be quickly developed to enter them into the workforce. There really isn't any excuse — other than the excuse of not wanting to pay fairly for workers, or big unions who want to use racism and other tactics to keep a lot of people out of work.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

We intend to stress youth employment, of course, because this is the largest sector of unemployed people; so that each person can lift his or her spirits and begin to feel like a dignified person, not having to beg or end up groveling like some 3,500 people recently did in New York City — being forced to the point of taking goods and materials that they have needed and desired all this time, those materials that have been paraded before them like a carrot on a stick. We intend to create the conditions where a human being feels as though he or she has earned the right to walk with dignity.

We think that this is just the first level of changing and bringing into the forefront all the population. Then there are other steps that will be taken to organize those people once they become workers.

In a round about way I've answered your question but, in short, full employment is possible in a capitalist society, especially here in the United States, and we intend to force that issue until it is a reality.

Q: You also mentioned in your homecoming statement that you would not be intimidated by the contract put on your life by drug dealers and would continue to fight heroin abuse in the community. How will you go about doing that?

HUEY: I cannot be intimidated because I have given my life to the people.

Certainly the trafficking of heroin, particularly, is one of the greatest dissipating factors in the Black community. That is to say, among the poor, not only Blacks but among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other poor people, the use of heroin and the trafficking of heroin has become such a great force in the community until people are totally mesmerized in this insane cycle. It is an evil that has to be driven out of our community. It is obvious that police forces in general have not seriously attempted to crush this growing evil, but have, in fact, in many ways encouraged it, by either a lackadaisical attitude or even, in some cases, participation in that trafficking.

I have called upon the new mayor of this city to join us in this regard because I think that as the elected political leader of the city, it is his responsibility to begin to set the tone for change. We cannot set the tone for positive change among Black, poor and working people in this city when we have our community rampant with people who have no regard for life or limb when it comes to the dollars that heroin offers.

We intend to use every means available, and certainly our first step will be to call upon the offices of the new mayor to begin to seriously set that kind of tone in this city, to begin to expose the pockets of this kind of activity until eventually it has no place to go. The community will rid itself of heroin once it becomes encouraged by its leadership to not be afraid and to put forward an effort to not allow itself to be completely deteriorated and totally disrupted by an activity that has been put upon us by large businessmen and others who are not our friends, but, in fact, represent our enemies.

Those people who participate at a very low level, while they are also the victims of heroin trafficking and the whole business of heroin dealing, must also begin to recognize their worth and begin to learn how to show to their

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community that they want to be more responsible and not irresponsible in the building of our communities, neighborhoods, our city, our state and our country. It is just intolerable that heroin traffic exists. It can be cleared up and cleaned out of this city, and we certainly intend to put out every energy we have to do that.

Essentially, I think that the way this will happen is that the tone will be set and various forces in the city will begin to see that tone is serious. We intend to join hands with Lionel Wilson in working out this problem and ultimately getting rid of it. I believe this is possible because, again, I believe good will triumph over evil — and I believe that the people themselves will run the dope dealers out of the community. The people who don't live here don't care about our community and will have to remain outside and have to think of something else evil to do. But they certainly are not going to be tolerated coming into our community with large quantities of heroin to ruin the lives of our children, to cause some of our young men and women to engage in activities that only produce profits for the very rich.

Q: What other plans, personal or political, although the two are so closely connected, have you made while awaiting trial?

HUEY: Well, I'm going to begin to settle myself into active work. I've got to somewhat recapitulate the last three years in terms of some of the things that have occurred that I've not been able to be made aware of. I've got to look over some of the problems in our programs and how we can straighten them out, and how we can push forward other programs.

Personally, while you're correct in saying that there is very little difference, I intend to go back to school. I had started at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in the Ph.D. program, and I intend to continue that program. I'm going to write my thesis on the history of the Black Panther Party. That will also serve a dual purpose; not only is that history needed because it is obviously an important part of the history of struggle in this country, but that also will serve as the thesis for my doctoral degree.

I will continue to work on other articles, other books and theoretical works that I made some outlines for while in Cuba. Of course, I will participate every day in coordinating the activities of the Black Panther Party.

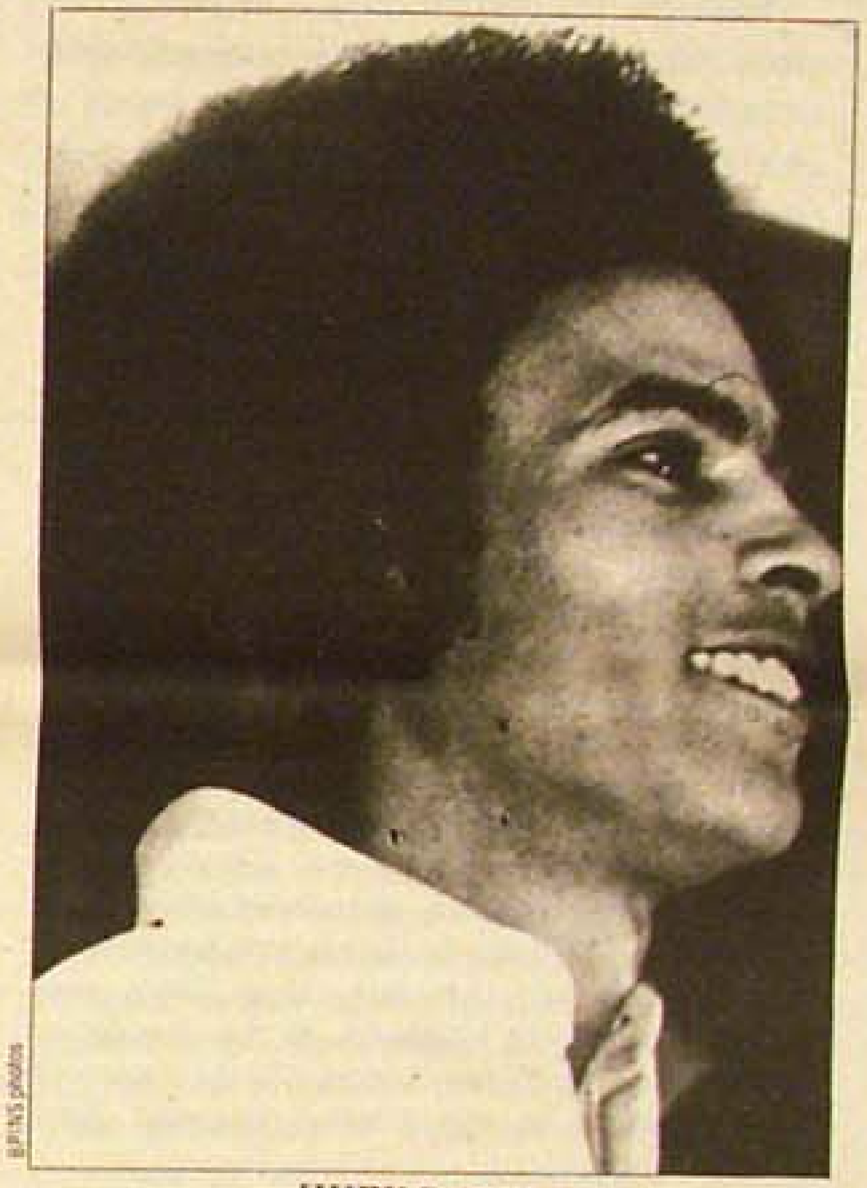


ELAINE BROWN, SHELDON OTIS, GWEN NEWTON and FRED HIESTAND at press conference following recent bail hearing.

I have two children and a wife, so I will settle in and will grow now, developing our family life in a more reasonable way, not in exile, but at home.

Q: Why did you seek O.R. release, and what did you think of the judge's denial despite such overwhelming support?

HUEY: The reason why I sought the right to be released on my own recognizance is obvious. The whole question of bail is absurd. In my particular case it's even more absurd because I have returned to this country. I made all the necessary authorities aware that I was coming back. Now I have come back and there is no particular reason for me to leave. Anyone with any logic or sense could not imagine that I would come all this way after so much and suddenly take flight again. The only logical and correct thing to do was to seek O.R.; the only logical and right thing to do was to have given me O.R.



BPNS photos

HUEY P. NEWTON

But, despite the fact that we demonstrated in the courtroom that there is a large, broad-based sector of the community who certainly supported my right to release on my own recognizance, the judge simply ordered a bail reduction based on a technicality. That technicality is important, however, I would like to point out, because the technicality was that some of the felony charges that were leveled against me were reduced to misdemeanors. This is an indication of how limited the real facts are in any of the cases against me. Before I've even gone to any preliminary hearings, or any motions have been made or I have stood trial, immediately some of the charges against me have been reduced.

"I believe good will triumph over evil — and I believe that the people themselves will run the dope dealers out of the community."

More importantly, I think that everybody who goes to jail should be released on their own recognizance. A person who pledges dollars is not as trustworthy as a person who pledges his or her word. The bail system merely affects the poor and not the rich. The amount of money that we had to gather to put up for my bail was an amount that no average working individual could save in a lifetime, or in many cases, even earn in an entire lifetime. Yet I was expected to pay this bail because of the charges against me — even though the Constitution says that excessive bails will not be required despite the charges against you.



LIONEL WILSON being sworn in by Judge WILEY MANUEL as Oakland's first Black mayor.

I am being punished and everyone who has such a large bail is being punished, not because we're being charged with a crime but because we are poor. Further, I am being punished while presumed innocent of the charges against me. If I had gone to jail and been charged with jaywalking, it would be no different under the Constitution than if I had gone to jail on the charges leveled against me now; despite the fact they are false. The law allows that I be considered for my word and not for the type of crime with which I am charged.

It was a violation of the law, which I wish to expose, in addition to a violation of human rights to have to pay a penalty for merely being charged with a crime or with a violation of law.

I was very grateful, however, that I was able to get support from so many diversified people who not only supported me as an individual but supported the notion of the right of a person to walk out of jail on his or her own signature. For example, I had the support of Congressman Ron Dellums; former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; a very close and old family friend who was my Sunday School teacher, Mrs. Odelia Brown; Alameda County Supervisor John George; and so many others, to say that I had a right, as many have a right, to an O.R. — particularly, in my case to say that my commitment to the programs and the people that these programs and I serve is far greater than any dollars that could be presented; that they believe I am so committed to these programs that I would have no reason to lie to the very people that I serve, and ultimately cause the programs and the work that I have done to be discredited.

I sought the O.R. because I wanted people to be aware of all these facts although I did not believe that the court was going to be fair, or just, or would allow for the O.R.

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Statement By Huey P. Newton Upon Release From Alameda County Jail

Part of the conspiracy against me and the Black Panther Party has already been proven: three of the phony felony charges against me have been dropped to misdemeanors and I have yet to stand trial. These charges involve an arrest made by an agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department and other government agents working with persons themselves involved in illicit activities. As with the reduced charges, all the charges will prove false and conjured.

Though I voluntarily returned to clear myself of these false charges and defamation of my and my Party's character, the system of justice in this country has again proven the difficulty in getting a fair trial. A bail of $80,000 was still imposed, imposed despite our demonstration of broad-based community ties and roots, despite the show of faith in my word: the affidavits and testimonies of people like Ramsey Clark, Ron Dellums, John George, Cecil Williams, Davie Napier, Willie Brown, Don Hopkins, and other friends.

However, all this supports the Church Committee's report on illegal FBI activities, which revealed that two key FBI goals were to "discredit" the Black Panther Party and financially destroy us. This $80,000 could have aided our school programs, our sickle cell anemia and hypertension programs, or been spread among some 48 other service programs.

Although I originally refused to accept this money for bail, my Party and attorneys insisted I come out to be able to continue my work during these trials. I am fortunate, however, to be able to walk out of jail today, for most people do not earn or could not save $80,000 in an entire lifetime and would have to languish in jail though presumed innocent. I know what this is, for I have spent three years of my life in prison on charges ultimately dismissed; three years in exile, because of conspiracies against me; two weeks, because of an outrageous bail.

I am now convinced I would not be able to continue my work had I remained here one minute longer, in light of the recent decision in Massachusetts on the trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Fifty years ago these men were murdered because, as the governor of Massachusetts stated, they did not receive a fair trial, having been convicted in an inflammatory atmosphere of prejudice built up "against foreigners and dissidents". They were "dissidents and draft dodgers"; I am labeled a "militant and revolutionary". It is my hope that by returning to fight the false charges against me I will not become another Sacco or Vanzetti.

I am home now and ready to have my day in court, despite the odds, to show I have not killed anyone nor committed any of the crimes with which I am falsely charged. Thousands of people have helped me return. I am very grateful to you all. You have shown faith in me, in our Party, and I will show that I will work with you and for you, as a servant of the people, to the end of my days. I am home now for good, no matter what happens.

Exclusive Interview With Huey P. Newton

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Q: Before getting into other aspects of your return and the upcoming trial, I'd like to take a step back. Why did you leave the U.S. in August, 1974?

HUEY: I left because we, the Party, not only myself, had reached an important crossroads and that was whether we were willing to sacrifice the leadership of the Party, whether I was willing to sacrifice my life, to a plot that we couldn't explain in detail but that we knew existed. That plot was the conspiracy on the part of various agencies of the government to assassinate me by using a variety of criminal elements to do so.That plot was not only to carry out my assassination but to carry it out in a fashion so as to discredit me while at the same time killing me.

We were not going to accept that, and at that time the only posture that we could reasonably take was to eliminate this problem by my leaving the country and not accepting a plan, a version of reactionary suicide. It was intolerable for me to remain any longer and at some point be assassinated. It is common knowledge that a contract was placed on my life for $10,000 by some alleged businessmen, who have been discovered to be major heroin dealers, because our Party, and I in the leadership of our Party, took the same position that we take now — that the heroin traffic had to be eliminated.

We went about a process of trying to do this in a rather haphazard and low-level way, so that lots of people were not aware of our program to do this. Consequently, the government took an opportunity to use the heroin dealers to kill two birds with one stone, so to speak: that they could get their plan accomplished and remain clean-handed in the act of getting rid of the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

It was best that I left and it is best now that I return.

Q: In your recent statement, you drew a comparison to the Sacco and Vanzetti case. What did you mean by that?

HUEY: Sacco and Vanzetti, as you may remember, were tried some 50 years ago in what is called a classic case for a murder involving a robbery. They were castigated by big business and government politicians, using the press, as "foreigners," "dissidents" and "draft dodgers." This was enough, at that time, to hang anybody. They were placed on trial for murder involving a rather ordinary kind of street crime so that they were discredited while also were ultimately murdered. This is the same kind of plan, in a more sophisticated arena — but very little more sophisticated, in essence — as was about to be carried out against me.

I was to be taken through court in a sensationalist trial. A group of paid informers, something like the informer William O'Neal involved in the assassination of our brother Fred Hampton, were to appear in court, conjure up lies and testify against me. Stories would be rampant, the press would go wild, and like Sacco and Vanzetti I would either be convicted of that or killed, on the streets. Then 50 years later, someone might say, "By the way, Huey Newton was not tried fairly and should have never received the death penalty."

I refused to accept that, and I was fortunate enough to have the ability to step back and retreat for a moment. That is what I did. The obvious, in that they were simply tried, convicted and ultimately murdered because of their political beliefs; certainly not because of any violation of the law that they had committed. I didn't intend to be Sacco or Vanzetti, and I still don't intend to be Sacco or Vanzetti, which is why I have returned. So I can fight.

But I have something to fight with now. We have more information, tidbits that have come out of the Church Committee and other information that we are gathering, and have gathered, to show that the conspiracy as we have stated does exist, and has existed, to not only destroy our Party, but, more specifically, to assassinate me.

I don't intend to take this lying down, and I'm back to fight the charges, to prove to the world that such a conspiracy does exist, as it did with Sacco and Vanzetti.

Q: What was life like for yourself, Gwen and the children while in Cuba? We've heard that you taught school briefly, but preferred to do construction work.

HUEY: Yes, I did. I felt that the construction work was more in keeping with what the average Cuban was doing on a day-to-day basis. Actually, I had originally asked to cut cane as so many Cubans, and so many people who come and volunteer their time to the Cubans do. The Cubans suggested that Americans are not physically able to withstand the hardships of cane cutting and discouraged me from taking that job. I was then offered a job of teaching at the university, but I still wanted a job where I could work with my hands and in a place where I would probably be more needed. I was finally given a job as a repairman at a cement truck factory. I did some other work before that, in a refresco company, which is a kind of Cuban soda pop factory, and then went on to work at the cement truck repair factory.

This is very difficult work. I worked very long hours every day, but I felt that I was participating in the Cuban Revolution in the way that I could be most needed.

When we moved from the countryside in Santa Clara back to Havana, I did teach some classes in social studies, North American politics and Black history. I was very happy to be able to contribute in this way also.

I don't know that I would say I "preferred" the work in the cement factory. It was very hard work, but it was the kind of job that I gained some information and knowledge, not only how to repair a cement truck but also I could observe life at a very direct level in a socialist country. I was very informed as the result of this, probably more so than if I had taught the whole time. I became much closer to the working people of Cuba and learned much about the struggle of the people toward the triumph of the Revolution. I learned that socialism is the ultimate answer to human beings living a decent and human existence.

In that sense I preferred that kind of work. Personally, as I say, it was very, very hard work and I'm not sure that was the kind of work I subjectively would have chosen. But it was the kind of work I needed and I learned a lot, as I mentioned.

Q: You were in Cuba when that country mobilized in support of the People's Republic of Angola in late 1975. Could you see popular enthusiasm or dissatisfaction with this move by Latin people to support African people?



HUEY P. NEWTON upon his return from forced political exile, flanked by his wife GWEN, BPP chairperson ELAINE BROWN and Party administrative officer LARRY HENSON.

HUEY: There was overwhelming enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, it was ironic because I couldn't imagine people being so enthusiastic anywhere else about supporting the people of another country, not only by demonstrations and rallies in support of the people of Angola, but also by sending out their very finest fighters to lay down their lives in defense of the right of the Angolan people to be in control of their own land.

Never before have I experienced such an overwhelming feeling of solidarity of human beings than during that period. As far as the Cubans as a Latin people are concerned, you have to remember that many, over two-thirds, of the population is what we consider Black. However, in Cuba these distinctions are not really made, so that the Cuban people are the Cuban people rather than the White Cuban people or the Black Cuban people.

As I said, the enthusiasm was overwhelming. It seemed as though the consciousness and understanding of each individual person was very high as to what was taking place and why it was happening. They gave it their full support. In this country, I don't think that we could imagine that. Say, for example, the U.S. claimed to be in support of another country. I can't imagine getting the kind of enthusiasm and volunteers to go and lay down their very lives in the interest of another people. That was a very rewarding experience and certainly the most outstanding example of revolutionary international solidarity that I have ever seen.

Q: One last question concerning Cuba. Did you see or experience any racism in Cuba and how would you sum up your experiences there?

HUEY: No, I did not observe any racism in Cuba. The Cuban people have been very conscious of problems of racial and sexual discrimination. President Castro makes constant reference to uniting the people, and the people essentially have no real consciousness about racial differences, much less to be discriminatory in terms of people's various colors or hues.

My entire experience in Cuba would be very difficult to sum up. Perhaps one day I may write a book about my experiences. But, if I could say one thing, I would say that the efforts of the Cuban people toward the building of socialism is so genuine, so real and so very impressive that I debated even at the last minute as to whether I really wanted to come back and fight or remain in the kind of paradise that I was in; where I felt for the first time like a really free human being. Not just a free human being in my mind, as I am, who refuses to be shackled by any oppressive forces, but as a human being in mind and in body; who could walk the streets with dignity; who could live and share work, laughter and tears with human beings in a direct way; who could strip myself for the first time of the needed sophistication of dealing with a society or a government that is bent on the destruction of human things; who could share with other human beings a positive life experience. That would be the most simplistic way I could sum up those years in the Republic of Cuba.

Q: I know you've gone over this many times, but what factors motivated you to return to the U.S.?

HUEY: The essence of my motivation was that I knew all along, when I left and when I was in Cuba, that I would have to return, because my struggle was not in Cuba but inside the U.S. — where the contradictions are so high between the haves and the have-nots, the poor and the rich, the working people and the employers, the businessmen. I have devoted my life to changing and resolving those contradictions and making life better for all human beings. I never intended to remain in Cuba for a much longer period of time than I did.

CONCRETE REALITY

I also considered the concrete reality that the people of the U.S. had a lifting in their political consciousness. They had seen the events of Watergate and other events that led them to begin to question, in large numbers, the right of a government to be so all-powerful over the people, who are supposed to govern themselves. They had seen the specifics that the Church Committee revealed regarding our Party and myself and had begun to realize that many things that had been said about the Black Panther Party were part of the plan of the same government that carries out such activities as the Watergate break-in, etc.

I saw that while Jimmy Carter and the whole Presidential phenomenon was not the most positive thing that I could think of, as it still represented the voice of the corporate business elite, it was a far cry from a Richard Nixon. I saw that Jerry Brown was not Ronald Reagan and, just before I returned, that Lionel Wilson was not John Reading.

Beyond these factors, I saw that people were beginning in general to have a lifting of their consciousness, a real gain in their understanding of the political and economic phenomena in this country. I thought that a more positive arena existed for me to return to be able to prove my innocence — because I was not going to be presumed innocent, as I had not been — I thought conditions existed for that to be positive and therefore for our Party to once again expose the forces of the government that are set about the business to destroy us. I returned to show all these things and to a climate that I felt was more positive in that sense.

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Exclusive Interview With Huey P. Newton

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Q: Do you think that conditions have changed or that consciousness has risen to the point of supposing you will receive a fair trial?

HUEY: I think the question of a fair trial is a question of whether it is fair in the first place that these charges have been leveled against me and that they still remain. The answer to that is, no, these charges are unfair.

But this does not mean that the people cannot create the arena that will allow for a fair trial to go on despite the machinations of the government. Just as the people were duped into creating a reactionary arena around Sacco and Vanzetti, the people's eyes have been opened — at least in these 50 years certainly much more than then — and they can create that same kind of arena to allow me to receive a fair trial.

In that sense, I think that ultimately a fair trial is possible, although it is not probable that the court or the system of justice in this country will attempt to do that.

An example is the manner in which the district attorney's office here in Alameda County moved against me in the incident in Toronto, Canada. The D.A. actually lied in an effort to confuse the Canadian government and cause them to illegally detain me according to their own immigration laws.

Returning here, I see the district attorney then lies again in court, and advises the court that I jumped bail in Canada, which I did not do, having made a legal arrangement to leave and giving proper notice to various authorities that I was leaving.



BPINS photos

This happy mother and children were among the 1,000 people who came out to welcome BPP president Huey P. Newton upon his release from jail on $80,000 ransom. Hoping to dampen the spirit of the people, Huey was released by jail officials earlier than expected.



Third, when I was released on bail the other day, I was literally kicked out of the jail in a political effort on the part of the Sheriff's Department and whoever was giving directions to the Sheriff's Department to attempt to take the wind out of a warm greeting by the people to me and by me to the people who had come out to see me released. It was a petty thing but it was important in the sense that it demonstrated the kind of thing we can expect in the future in this trial.

I do not expect that there will be fairness or truth that will exist on the part of the prosecutor's office and certainly not even in the court. But I do hope that people will be able to see beyond the courtroom rhetoric of the prosecutor and look into the facts of the situation. If that happens, then I will receive a fair trial because I will be acquitted.

Q: Much has been said of the changes the Black Panther Party has undergone in the past 11 years. As the founder and president of the Party, how do you view these changes, and how has the Party survived these 11 years of intense attacks from all quarters?

HUEY: It has not been easy to survive the various attacks. There have been many, many external attacks, from the overt attacks of police guns on our offices and homes, to the more covert attacks of undermining our finances and trying to destroy the distribution of our newspaper, and this sort of thing.

In addition, there have been internal conflicts and agent provocateurs sent in to destroy the Party. We have phenomenally survived — even though I don't think that those people who designed what they believed to be our destruction ever expected that we would survive. I think that the reason that we did survive, one fundamental reason is, that our Party is not based upon a fantasy or people being paid to do what they do, but it is based on the ideology and belief of the people in the Party that our work is an ultimate service to human beings. We have committed ourselves so much to that work that we can never let go of that idea, of that commitment. That is certainly the strongest tie that can bind any people together, certainly the strongest cement that could hold any organization together.

IN TERMS OF CHANGE

In terms of our change, I think that many things that we did in the past may have been incorrect, but in some cases it may have been necessary that we go through some of those mistakes. The changes came about primarily in 1971 when we determined that we had abandoned not only the Black community but our Ten Point Platform and Program and had become so sidetracked by media rhetoric that we had lost sight of our original vision. We attempted to return to that vision so that the change that has been observed by many people is really a return to the original ideas of the Party as laid down in our Ten Point Platform and Program which, in essence, states that we want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's control of modern technology.

What we mean is that all of the things that are outlined in our program, that are necessary for us to live a decent, dignified and peaceful life, are prerequisites to doing that. We have a right to be able to control our present and our future, and not to have them controlled by forces that will not act in our interest, much less forces outside of ourselves.

The changes in the Party are simply a recapture of what had been torn apart by persons like Eldridge Cleaver and others who had captured the media's attention and defined the Black Panther Party as an organization which it never was nor intended to be.

It has taken us a long time to demonstrate that in a concrete way because people have been so overwhelmed by the sensationalism of the press, which preferred to talk about so-called battles between the police and the Panthers than to talk about the battle to feed hungry children that our Breakfast Program represented; or the battle to provide a quality education to all children as our School

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represents; or the battle to prevent the elderly from being accosted on the streets, as our S.A.F.E. Program represents.

Because of media sensationalism and the twisted rhetoric of a few individuals who captured the media's attention, our Party was defined differently. It was up to us then to seize back the reins of the Party, as we were able to do, and put it back on the right track: toward the goals set out in our Ten Point Platform and Program. I think that the change that you see does not represent a revision, but the recapture of the original vision.

Q: You said recently that the Party is a democratic organization with a small "d". What did you mean by that?

HUEY: I said that we were democrats with a small "d". I didn't say that our Party was a democratic organization because I wouldn't want to be mistaken for using the term "democracy" in any bourgeois sense. But we are democrats in the sense that we believe in a society ruled by, for and of the people. While this country spouts that rhetoric, we believe that that is the only way human beings can live in harmony in any society; that is that they act to govern themselves to act in their larger self-interest and to act on their own, to determine for themselves what is best for them. In that sense, we are democrats.

Q: In response to certain groups' demands in the past for land for Black people, you have said that it's not a question so much of land but a question of technology. Would you explain?

HUEY: Essentially it's not a question of control of land, as I see it, that is ultimately as important as the control of technology that can work the land and make it produce in the interests of the people. In a situation where a territory is liberated, while we would support the struggle of the people to liberate their territory, we believe that they must also have at their access the benefits of modern technology so that they may begin to seriously control their own destiny.

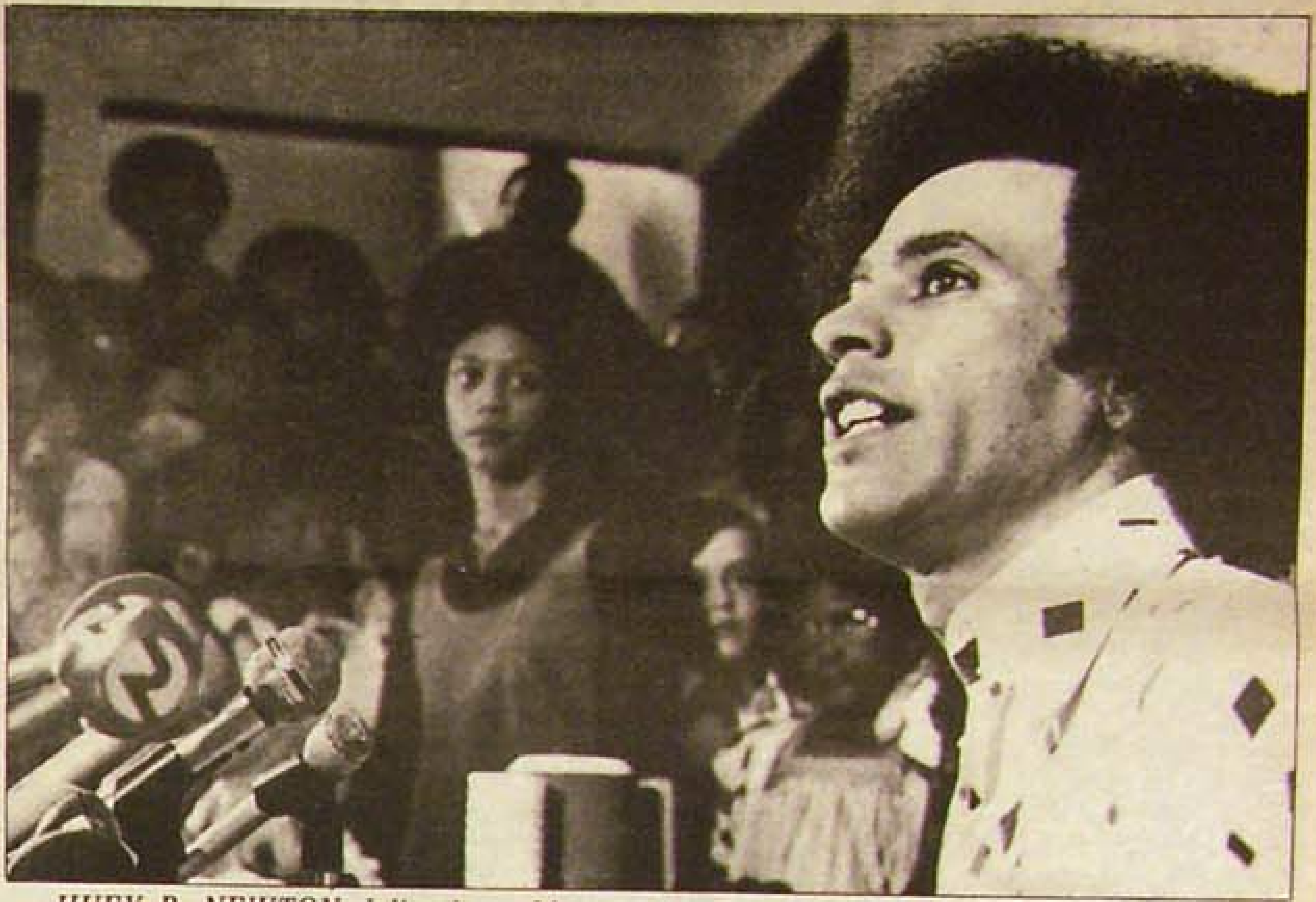
MANY EXAMPLES

The many examples that I can cite are so-called underdeveloped countries that have achieved people's liberation but are unable to provide the basic necessities for the people and ultimately have been forced back into engaging with the very capitalists they defeated — in exchange for goods and necessities.

This is not a bad thing if you understand the plan about which you are involved, but it would be a bad thing if we imagine that merely the securing of the land would be sufficient and that the struggle would be ended at that point.

The Cuban people, for example, are in a position now where it is necessary to ration food and various other goods, but I believe they recognize the ultimate need for them to control the technology that can make the Cuban countryside blossom; so that the people can have enough food and it won't have to be rationed.

When that plan exists in the minds of the leadership and in the minds of the people, then it is not just a question of merely securing land. It's a question of securing all of the benefits that the land can produce. And if the technology is not there to make the land produce, it's impossible for the people to be truly victorious because they can be overtaken again by those in control of the technology. If an oil-producing country in the Middle East, for example, were to suddenly have an upheaval and a revolutionary turnover would



HUEY P. NEWTON delivering address at press conference at Oakland Community Learning Center preceding community reception in his honor.

occur, people could not produce their oil without Standard or Gulf, then it would be a question of their understanding of how to expropriate the technological tools and skills so that they could ultimately control the very oil that is their own. Otherwise, if they couldn't eat the oil — and one can't eat oil — then they would be forced back into a position of still having to trade and exchange goods in the world from a position of powerlessness.

I still maintain that this is a correct view but at this time it is a long-range view, and the more immediate struggle for full employment in this country or the liberation of territory elsewhere are the struggles that we have to look to today.

Q: Does the BPP still subscribe to the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism?

their economic stability and their economic holdings. With both countries compared with corporations, both being classified as economic units, this study showed that of the 100 top economic units in the world, 57 of them are corporations, most of them North American corporations.

The point is there are more corporations with a higher economic base than countries.

This really points up that the multinational corporations, the large North American businesses and corporations are in control of the world economy. They represent the larger number of groups with large economic holdings, and, therefore, the ability to purchase and develop technological tools. Therefore, it is important that the people of the world recognize that they must seize control of technology so that they can in fact control their

"Because of media sensationalism. . .our Party was defined differently. It was up to us then to seize back the reins of the Party. . .I think that the change that you see does not represent a revision, but the recapture of the original vision."

HUEY: Yes we do, because it is akin, of course, to revolutionary internationalism. The only change in language is the changing of the word nationalism to the world communalism. That word is a word that we coined to indicate our belief that the world is merely a collection of dispersed communities rather than a group of independent and sovereign nations. The countries of the world, as they are called, must be accurately defined, because otherwise we will lose sight of what the reality is and won't be able to struggle against the very powerful forces that wish to crush the poor of the world.

One clear example of that is the move on the part of some people to enter the multinational businesses and corporations into the United Nations. While this may seem a far-fetched idea, it is certainly not far from reality. In a study that was done, a comparison was made between countries and corporations in terms of

own territories and not in just a dream or fantasy sense.

Q: Again, as founder and president of the Black Panther Party, do you think there is still a need for the BPP in 1977, as there you founded the organization in 1966?

HUEY: The need for a Black Panther Party is merely to say there is a need for an organization to demonstrate the contradictions and to put forward ideas for solutions to the contradictions in a society such as our own. Unfortunately, in the last 11 years, while there has been a lifting of the consciousness of the people, fundamental changes have not occurred. So, the need for an organization to continue to work and to continue to struggle for change and resolve those contradictions between the employed and the employer, between the oppressed and the oppressor, that need is obviously still there.□

"The Only Reason I'm Here Is Because Of Your Power"

HUEY RELEASED

(Oakland, Calif.) - Despite the ongoing treachery by Alameda County officials to isolate him from his friends, supporters and loved ones, Black Panther Party founder and president Huey P. Newton finally rejoined the community at a warm and spirited reception held in honor of his release from jail last Saturday at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

"It's a fantastic feeling being here," Huey said to the people gathered at a press conference held at the OCLC.

"The only reason I am here is because of your power. . . .I love you all very much." (See the complete text of Huey P. Newton's statement to the community in the centerfold.)

Earlier that morning, county jail officials had attempted to thwart a crowd of friends and supporters from greeting Huey upon his release from jail—on an exorbitant $80,000 bail—by releasing the respected Black Panther Party leader an hour and a half before the scheduled time.





Upon his arrival at the Oakland Community Learning Center which followed his being literally kicked out of the Alameda County Jail, HUEY P. NEWTON was given a warm and loving reception from his friends, supporters and loved ones. "It's a fantastic feeling being here," said Huey. "The only reason I am here is because of your power. . .I love you all very much."

TREACHERY

"We're used to that kind of treachery," Huey explained at the press conference. "I was supposed to speak to you right after leaving the jail, but they decided to kick me out of jail.

"It's the first time I've ever been kicked out several hours earlier," he said with a smile.

But even his early departure could not stop cries of "Justice for Huey" from hammering the walls of the county jail, as a crowd of between 750 to 1,000 cheered Huey's release from unjust incarceration.

"This just demonstrates how fearful they are of the power of the people; that's what they were really afraid of," Party chairperson Elaine Brown said, standing outside the courthouse jail.

"Huey is supported and loved by so many people, and they fear him so much, that they put a whole machinery together just to kick him out of jail so he couldn't see the people."

Elaine charged that jail officials had gone so far as to attempt to have Huey's chief counsel in the current case, Sheldon Otis, to take her identification up to the 10th floor in order to post bail, forcing Elaine to remain outside in the chilly morning air. The move, however, was blocked.

"It's a cloudy day," Elaine said, speaking through a bullhorn, to the crowd assembled outside the jail, "but the sun is getting ready to come out, not only on this day, but on all the people.

"The struggle of Huey P. Newton is not just the struggle of an individual, but the struggle of the people against oppression—not only in Oakland, but throughout this country and throughout the world. . . .

"We will win. There will be justice for Huey because we will guarantee it."

At the early afternoon press conference, Huey, repeating his innocence of the false charges lodged against him, linked his extraordinarily high bail—"a punishment" as he called it—to ongoing federal government conspiracies to destroy and discredit the Black Panther Party generally and him specifically.

"We know how the FBI operates," Huey said. "This money could have gone to our Clinics, to our School.

"As you can notice in the Church subcommittee of Congress reports, part of the [FBI, CIA] plan was to draw money away from our community programs, in order to destroy us."

Explaining that at first his tendency was to stay in jail "on principle" of not allowing government agencies to destroy the Party through high bails, Huey said that other Party leaders together with his attorneys convinced him that it would be best for both his legal defense and for the community Survival Programs that he allow himself to be released on bond.

"I was fortunate to walk out of jail today," Huey said, "and I love the community for that. But I left many individuals there. I left many prisoners languishing in jail because they could not raise exorbitant bails."

Huey spent a total of 21 days in jail—from the evening of his tumultuous "welcome home" at San Francisco Airport on Sunday, July 3, to Saturday morning, July 23.

Further, at the press conference Huey drew an interesting comparison of his case, and his three years of forced political exile, with the recently publicized Sacco and Vanzetti case.

The governor of Massachusetts, Huey noted, had recently admitted that 50 years ago Sacco and Vanzetti had not received a fair trial, that they were convicted in an "inflammatory atmosphere" and "murdered by the State."

'They labeled Sacco and Vanzetti 'draft dodgers,' 'foreigners,' 'dissidents.' They label me a 'revolutionary,' a 'militant.' "

Huey then explained that he chose to return voluntarily because, "I didn't want, 50 years from now, to get an apology from whoever the governor of California might be at that time. I want to clear up the false charges so an apology won't be necessary.

"I'm looking forward to my day in court," Huey concluded. "I have dedicated myself to serve the people and I'm here to do just that."□

SOWETO STUDENTS URGE BLACK WITHDRAWAL FROM APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA





Mass rally in Soweto.

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Convinced that Black withdrawal from participation in the apartheid system of South Africa will inevitably bring about its decline, Black students are increasingly pressuring all segments of the community to stop collaborating with the White minority government.

Mobilized by such groups as the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), a growing number of Azanians (Black South Africans) with jobs in the White apartheid regime are abandoning their positions.

In recent weeks, for example, there has been widespread publicity about the forced resignation of Blacks from the government-sponsored Soweto Urban Bantu Council and the walkout of several members of the "township's" numerous school boards.

Last week, a group of Azanian students stoned a Black tribal chief, Luca Mangope, who had announced his acceptance of so-called "independence" for his tribal "homeland" of Bophuthatswana. Of the nine "homelands" in South Africa, only one other, the Transkei, has agreed to the government's policy of separate development, which, in essence, means continued dominance by the government.

Faced with growing resistance from the 18.5 million Azanian population, the government of "Prime Minister" John Vorster has introduced several reforms during the past year, in an attempt to appease the people. However, as one Black student leader declared, "It's too little and too late."

While 1976 was marked by protests and demonstrations, this year, another Black student leader said, "We have turned inward, trying to stiffen the will of our people to withdraw from any association with apartheid institutions.

"If we can collapse apartheid by nonparticipation," he continued, "the government will have to try — hopefully — more meaningful ways to grant us equality."

A central focus of SSRC organizing activities has been efforts to persuade Azanian workers in government jobs to quit those jobs. In addition, Black student activists have denounced Black clerks who process the passbooks and other apartheid documents that control the lives of Azanians from cradle to grave and Black policemen who help to enforce the laws of the racist government.

In an interview with THE BLACK PANTHER (July 23, 1977), Selby Mwlanga, an exiled SSRC leader, said that Soweto students have succeeded in driving Black police out of the suburban Johannesburg "township."

Student activists such as Mwlanga point out, however, that the struggle in South Africa has not yet reached its revolutionary stage. As a recent commentary in the *Daily News* of Tanzania stated:

"Students have played their part. They have made sacrifices. They have become martyrs of the impending bloody conflict.

"But theirs can only be a moral weapon, a tool to wield and crystallize the consciousness of the oppressed classes that are dispossessed towards the overthrow of the system." □

TENG HSIAO-PING

Deposed Chinese Leader Reinstated

(Peking, People's Republic of China) - Chiang Ching, the widow of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and three other radical Chinese leaders, the so-called "Gang of Four," have been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party, while the twice purged moderate leader, Teng Hsiao-ping, has been returned as the Party's deputy chairman.

Announcement of the two actions was made official last week by the *Hsinhua* news agency.

The actions were taken at a meeting of the Tenth Central Committee, which also confirmed Hua Kuo-feng as the Party's chairman and successor to Mao.

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TENG HSIAO-PING

SMITH SETS AUGUST 21 FOR BOGUS RHODESIAN ELECTIONS

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Rejecting the latest U.S.-British efforts to secure Black majority rule in Rhodesia and facing a serious challenge to his leadership from extreme White right-wing reactionaries at home, "Prime Minister" Ian Smith last week dissolved Parliament and called for general elections on August 31.

Shortly after concluding fruitless talks with British Foreign Office Undersecretary John Graham, Smith made a nationwide radio and television address on July 18 denouncing the talks, describing them as a "setback."

"I must go further," the rebel White leader insisted, "and say that after last week's setback I do not believe that there is much hope of a successful outcome to these (U.S.-British) negotiations."

Smith, who led Rhodesia to its unilateral declaration of independence from Great Britain in November, 1965, and who has headed the country's White minority government since April, 1964, angrily attacked the ultimatum given to him last week by a U.S.-British diplomatic team.

NO HOPE

The 58-year-old "prime minister" said he had been told "there was no hope of anything other than 'one-man, one-vote,' and no special representation for Whites" in the inevitable future, in Black majority-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The leader of the embattled Rhodesian Front (R.F.) party said that with the support of the almost all-White electorate, he would work with Black Rhodesians "prepared to work *peacefully* and *constitutionally* with the government" to write a new constitution by the end of the year.

Racist voter registration requirements for Zimbabweans — they must own land, be employed and have an education — mean that only 10,000 of 90,000 eligible Blacks can vote.

Smith is expected to attempt to make some kind of agreement with sell-out Black leaders Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the African National Council (ANC) and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, ousted leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). ZANU, now led by Robert Mugabe, launched the armed struggle against the White settler regime in 1972, and formed the Patriotic Front last year with the Zimbabwe African People's Union





Rhodesian soldier uses vicious attack dogs to hold Zimbabwean majority rule protesters at bay and (right) militant ZIPA guerrillas.

(ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo.

The Patriotic Front, backed by the frontline states in southern Africa — Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana — as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has rejected negotiations and has intensified the armed struggle during the past year, having liberated a vast amount of the Rhodesian countryside.

In order to control the majority of the 50 White seats in the Rhodesian Parliament, Smith needs 44 seats but has only 37 — the direct result of the formation two weeks ago of the Rhodesian Action Party (RAP) by 12 arch-conservative former members of the R.F. who were expelled from the old party last March 12.

Announcing the establishment of RAP, the new party's spokespersons said that it would seek to "ruthlessly" crush guerrillas of the Patriotic Front. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 16, 1977).

Andrew Young, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, branded Smith's call for elections "another desperate move" by the White minority government to cling to power.

A Black nationalist leader declared, "The war will go on and there will be chaos. Eventually the Blacks will come out on top. . ."□

Deposed Chinese Leader Reinstated

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The four expelled Chinese leaders — Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yua — all former Politburo members, were put under house arrest within a month of Mao's death, and accused of plotting a coup. Since then thousands of their supporters in the provinces have been dismissed.

The 74-year-old Teng, who also has been returned to his post as vice premier — reportedly making him China's third-ranking leader — was purged by Mao in the 1960's during the Cultural Revolution as the "No. 2 Party person taking the capitalist road." He was "rehabilitated" and returned to the Party in 1973, reportedly with the support of the late Premier Chou En-lai.

In April last year, Teng was again purged following serious riots in Peking's Square of Heavenly Peace. Last week's communique said that it was the "Gang of Four" that had "feverishly attacked and fabricated accusations" against Teng. It said Chairman Hua proposed his rehabilitation last March.□

AFRICA IN FOCUS

Egypt/Libya

Three days of bloody fighting erupted last week along the 800-mile long desert border between Egypt and Libya, with each of the north African countries accusing the other of provocation. According to an Egyptian military spokesperson, on Thursday, July 21, Libyan armored units launched an attack near the Egyptian border town of Salum. He said that Egyptian forces destroyed 40 Libyan tanks and shot down two planes. Disputing reports from Tripoli, capital of Libya, said that Egypt invaded Musaad, Libya, and attacked local schools and hospitals, killing several civilians in the process.

The following day, an Egyptian military communique announced that a Libyan air base south of Tobruk had been bombed and severely damaged in retaliation for three Libyan air raids on Egyptian frontier positions. In a nationwide television address, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said his country's armed forces had withdrawn from Libya after giving Libyan head of state Colonel Moaamar Khadafy "a lesson he will never forget."

The *Los Angeles Times* reports that the Egyptian Army has some 280,000 men while its Libyan counterpart has only 20,000.

Ethiopia/Somalia

Following several weeks of mounting tension, heavy fighting occurred between Ethiopian and Somali troops in the Ogaden region of southeast Ethiopia last week. As in the case of Egypt and Libya, there were sharply contradictory reports on what took place. According to the official Ethiopian news agency, "thousands of infiltrating Somali soldiers" were "wiped out" in battles near the mountain towns of Diredawa and Harar. A communique from the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), aired over Somali radio, said that 150 Ethiopian soldiers had been killed and nine Ethiopian airplanes destroyed. Ethiopian guerrillas of the WSLF have been fighting the Addis-Ababa government for control of the Ogaden region that Somalia has long laid claim

Mozambican Solidarity With People Of Zimbabwe, So. Africa Grows Strong

The following Africa News *interview by Ruth Minter is with Marcelino dos Santos, Mozambican minister for development and economic planning. Dos Santos led the recent Mozambican delegation to the U.N. Security Council, requesting aid and support to counter increased aggression by Rhodesia. The interview was given at that time.*

Q: What is your evaluation of the recent Security Council meeting? Did Mozambique get as much as expected?

DOS SANTOS: The answer of the international community was quite positive.

The Security Council has been once more confronted with a problem which pertains not only to the People's Republic of Mozambique but also to the international community. In fact, the support and military equipment which the Security Council recommended be given to our country is not only a simple national question, that is to say a Mozambican question.



MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, Mozambican minister for development and Economic Planning.

We are attacked because we support the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and because we decided to adhere to the full application of the sanctions decreed by the Security Council.

However, we want to make it clear; the aggressions are not the main problem. The existence of the Salisbury regime is the real origin of the situation. The situation of insecurity prevailing in southern Africa is caused by the existence of this illegal and racist regime.

Q: Please tell us the extent of

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The youth of Mozambique and SAMORA MACHEL (inset).

MOZAMBIQUE'S REVOLUTION ADVANCES

The following is the conclusion of a highly informative series of articles detailing the concrete methods used by the revolutionary FRELIMO government of the People's Republic of Mozambique in mobilizing the Mozambican people to higher levels of unity and political consciousness along the path of progressive socialism.

CONCLUSION

Fabrico Investro, a model clothing factory in the major industrial area of Maputo, employs 1,326 men and about 100 women. Arriving at the factory, I was introduced to Milita Joao, a vibrant and quietly disciplined *responsavel* for social welfare in Investro's dynamizing groups (GD). (Joao attended the Third FRELIMO Congress and introduced the resolution to create a Marxist-Leninist party.)

She said there were few serious problems at the factory because the workers had developed a political consciousness and were now free to discuss their problems among themselves. Current problems had to do mostly with shortages of supplies and spare parts, she added.

Because of the extremely high level of consciousness among the workers in this factory, Joao noted that they have established several social programs on their own initiative.

These include a school for illiterate workers, a nursery to allow women to attend political meetings after work and to reduce the cost of daycare during working hours, the purchase of two wagons to transport workers to and from the factory and the establishment of a factory mashamba (farm or garden) where the workers are employees when a shortage of supplies disrupts production at the factory.

"There are particular ways we used to raise political consciousness in workers," Joao explained. "We had several periodic meetings to raise the political level. We explained this phase of fighting, that at one point we were fighting with guns, but now we fight with different 'guns' such as increasing production.

"We explained what capitalism and imperialism is trying to do, what are its strategies, and why at the Third Congress priority was put on the struggle for production."

Asked about problems encountered in raising the political

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Cuban-Mozambican Solidarity Hailed At Spirited Rally

(Havana, Cuba) - The close ties of revolutionary friendship between the people of Cuba and Mozambique were hailed at a recent solidarity rally held here, *Granma* reports.

Organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the spirited rally featured a speech by Graca Machel, minister of education and culture of the People's Republic of Mozambique and a member of the Central Committee of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

Keynote speaker for the evening celebration held at Mella Theater was Raul Garcia Palaez, a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Ms. Machel, wife of esteemed Mozambican President Samora Machel, began her speech by praising the Cuban people and



Havana rally featured Cuban and Mozambican leaders, among them GRACA MACHEL (center), wife of Samora Machel.

government for the armed struggle by which they liberated their country from U.S. neocolonialism and the construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Cuba — which is only 90 miles from the southeastern coast of the U.S.

The Mozambican minister of education and culture also paid tribute to the Cuban people for their support of the freedom struggles of the world. This support has included sending

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Mozambique's Revolution Advances

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participation and consciousness of women in the factory, Milita said:

"Women are only 100 out of 1,426 at this factory. At the beginning, women didn't participate in meetings. When the *responsavels* asked why, they said, 'We have our children at home, and can't come to meetings.' So the workers here made a *creche* (nursery) so that women can bring their children to the factory and stay for meetings after work.

"We also developed a program for women, special meetings for women, to discuss women's liberation and problems of marriage, such as child marriage and *lobolo* (bride price), both of which are feudal traditions," she continued. "Now there's about 60 per cent participation of the factory women at every meeting."

Arao Daniel and Luis Francisco Nyamaza outlined the functioning of the Production Council (P.C.), which was set up at Investro in November, 1976. As Arao describes it:

"The purpose of the P.C. is to combat indiscipline, to explain to the workers what they are really doing in the factory and to plan for specific sections. We try to explain what are the potentialities and possibilities for production of this or that machine, what we can get with this machine. . .We must



Mozambique's revolutionary society seeks the full participation of women.

set production objectives for the section. But all days, we are above our objectives."

The P.C. meets with workers once a week to review production objectives. There is a P.C. in each section as well as one for the entire factory. Any problems affecting production will be dealt with first by a meeting between representatives of the PC and the GD, to determine if it is primarily a political or administrative problem. If the problem cannot be resolved at this level, then it is referred to the Administrative Council (A.C.) and the general factory-wide P.C.

As I was about to leave, I asked Joao why she had introduced the resolution at the Third Congress to create a Marxist-Leninist party in Mozambique.

"We received the experience of all people of the world and have studied the experience of workers fighting against the capitalist," she replied.

"With the experience of Marxism-Leninism, we can learn something about revolution and how to transform our country into socialism. In the former liberated areas, we now have popular committees, but we don't yet have them in the towns and cities. . . .This is one of the tasks of the new party."□

Cuban-Mozambican Solidarity Hailed At Rally

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troops to the People's Republic of Angola to help the newly liberated west African nation fight off efforts of Western imperialist countries to destroy the Angolan revolution.

Explaining how the former Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique ruthlessly exploited the Mozambican people, Ms. Machel emphasized that the founding of FRELIMO "had marked a key step in the revolutionary struggle, helping to do away with tribalism and bringing about the birth of the nation in which everybody would be united without differences of any kind."

"Being in Cuba is a source of stimulus for us, because Cuba is an inspiring example of anti-imperialist confrontation," Mrs. Machel said proudly, stressing the unity of ideas and action between Cuba and Mozambique. "We feel that Cuba is part of our country," she said in closing her remarks.



FIDEL CASTRO and SAMORA MACHEL.

Then, as is the custom at political rallies in Mozambique, Ms. Machel and the other members of the FRELIMO delegation sang one of FRELIMO's revolutionary songs.

In his speech, Palaez praised the Mozambican people for their overthrow of Portuguese colonialism and the country's "march toward a new society."

The Cuban Communist Party Central Committee member denounced the attacks of Rhodesia's White minority against Mozambique and other violence against the African people and progressive forces on the continent.

Palaez pointed out the occasion for the solidarity rally — the second anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique on June 21 and the 15th anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO. He said that cooperation between the two Marxist governments was being strengthened more and more.□

Mozambican Solidarity Grows Strong

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the losses Mozambique has suffered since it closed the border with Rhodesia 15 months ago.

DOS SANTOS: Since March 3, 1976, until March 3 this year, Mozambique has suffered 143 attacks from the Rhodesian regime. From March, 1976, until June 15 this year, 1,483 civilians, among them about 1,000 Zimbabwean refugees, have been murdered. It should be remembered that most of the Zimbabwean refugees were assassinated during the attack against the Nyazonia camp of refugees in Mozambique.

Q: South Africa says it has recently captured some guerrillas who entered from Mozambique. Please comment on the South African struggle and Mozambique's relation to it.

DOS SANTOS: The struggle of the South African people is achieving a new dimension and is reaching qualitatively more advanced steps. The Soweto events of June 16 last year reflect this new phase of the struggle of the people of South Africa against the regime of apartheid.

We are convinced that the struggle will positively develop. We know that there are big difficulties to be overcome. We know that the people of South Africa are facing many difficulties. South Africa is really the bastion of imperialism in Africa.

NEW RESOURCES

But we are also sure that the people of South Africa will always be able to find new resources, new strengths to face the apartheid regime and finally to win.

The Mozambican people are ready to continue to give their full solidarity and we are sure also that the peoples of the world — particulary the people in the U.S. — will continue to support the peoples of South Africa.

Q: Do you have any other message for the American people?

DOS SANTOS: I would say to the American people that in fighting colonialism, in fighting racism, in fighting apartheid, the peoples of America and the peoples of Mozambique will find themselves more united, more together.

It is important for our work to be sure that in all parts of the world where the peoples are fighting for freedom, this is also the battle. This is the fight of the American people; this is the fight of the Mozambican people.□

SPORTS

DEDICATES ALL-STAR GAME TO ROBINSON, FIRST TIME EVER FOR FORMER PLAYER

BASEBALL PROCLAIMS "JACKIE ROBINSON WEEK" TO HONOR FIRST BLACK BALLPLAYER

(New York, N.Y.) - The late, immortal Jackie Robinson, major league baseball's first Black player, was honored in an unprecedented fashion when last week's All-Star game here was dedicated to him.

Last week was proclaimed Jackie Robinson Week by professional baseball — 30 years after Robinson began playing with the Brooklyn Dodgers. From Black ballplayers across the country, there was nothing but the highest praise for Robinson.

Hal McRae, the Kansas City Royal's batting whiz, said, "He (Robinson) made it possible for me to play. He solved a lot of problems for me when I was too young to know what he was doing."

Larry Doby, the first Black to play in the American League, and now a coach for the Chicago White Sox, commented, "Robinson certainly was an inspiration to me and a lot of Black kids. He was the pioneer in baseball, but I felt I was the pioneer in the American League.

FRIENDLY COMPETITION

"It brought some friendly competition," Doby remembered. "I would look at the box score to see what he was doing and I'm sure he did the same to see how well I was going."

Willie McCovey was a nine-year-old when Robinson began playing with the Dodgers in 1947. "All Black kids grew up idolizing him," says McCovey. "He went through a lot," McCovey went on. "I admire him for all the things he had to take. They picked the right man at the right time. You'd have to be in his shoes to know what he went through."

For the first time ever, baseball dedicated its All-Star game to a former player and Robinson's wife, Rachel, was there to throw out the game ball in New York's Yankee Stadium.

For the next three weeks, tributes commemorating Robinson will be held in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Atlanta, San Diego, Seattle and in New York's Shea Stadium.

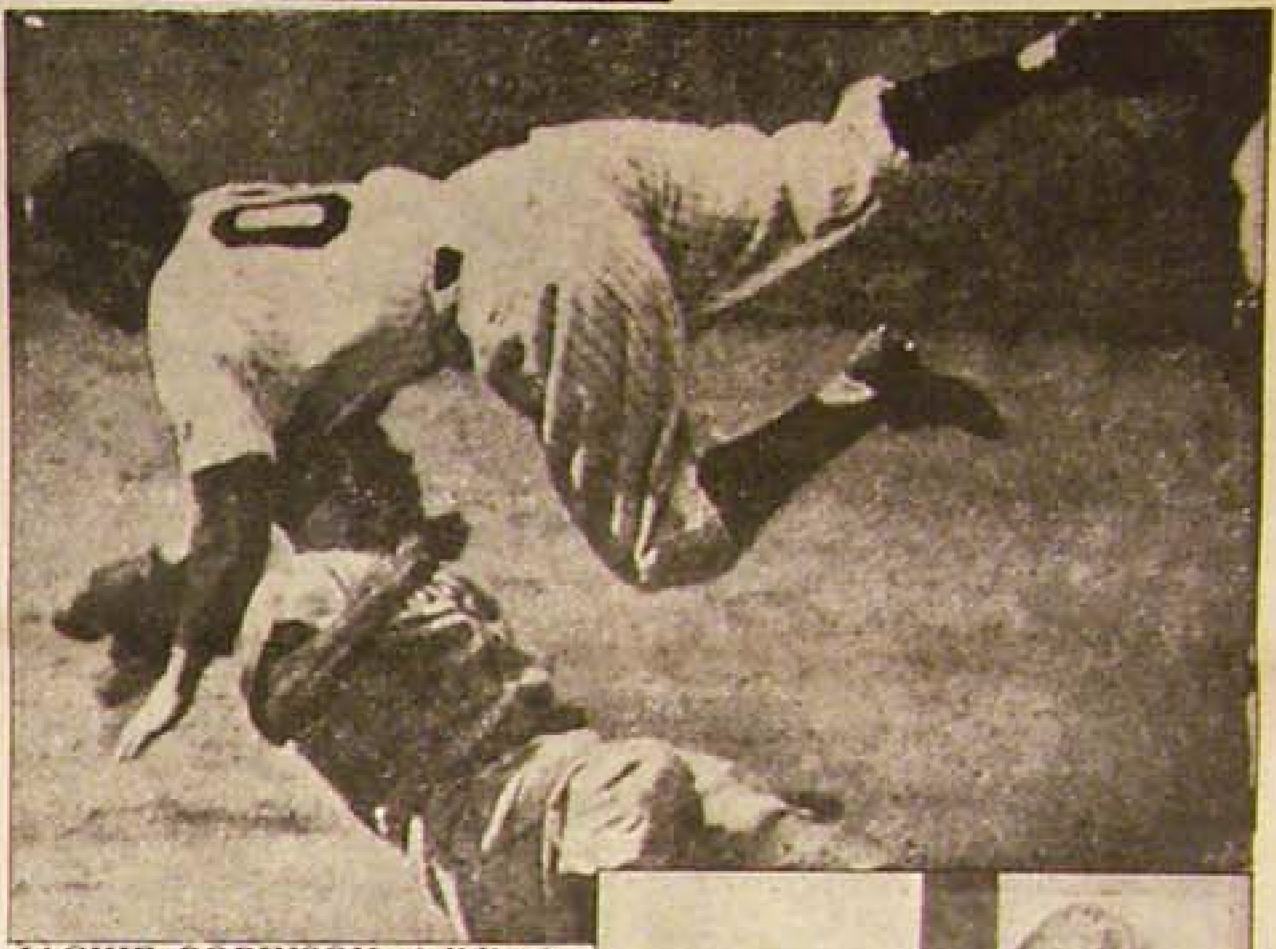
Pee Wee Reese, one of Robinson's few White friends on the Dodger's team or in baseball, recalls the torment Robinson endured when he first broke into the big leagues.

"Then you'd hear a lot of insults from the opposing benches," said Reese, "guys calling him things like 'nigger' and 'watermelon eater,' trying to rile him.

"You saw how he stood there and dared them to hit him with the ball," Reese recalled, "and you began to put yourself in his shoes. . .That was the decisive thing about Jack. He had all kinds of class.

". . .Now that they're honoring his memory and his impact at this year's All-Star game," said Reese, "you have the key to it all — if he hadn't 'made' it, the Black movement would probably have been set back several years. It still would have happened, but it would have taken longer."

Since Robinson broke through and became a star major leaguer, Black athletes have gone on to dominate professional baseball, football and especially basketball. Today, 65 per cent of the players in the National Basketball Association (NBA) are Black, Black players comprise 44 per cent of the athletes in the National Football League (NFL) and 19 per cent of the ballplayers in major league baseball.



JACKIE ROBINSON (sliding), in action against New York Yankees in 1947 World Series. Robinson was a minor leaguer in Montreal before becoming the first Black player in the major league's Brooklyn Dodgers.



"Baseball could truly honor Robinson," said *San Francisco Chronicle* sports columnist Dave Anderson, "by appointing more Blacks as managers and front-office personnel, as basketball has. But baseball prefers ceremonial tributes."

In his time, Robinson became a fighter against racial bias. Reese recalled a time when Robinson insisted on integrating a St. Louis hotel on a road trip.

"Roy Campanella and some of the other Black players told him not to do it," Reese said. "They said they were doing O.K., so don't rock the boat. But Jackie joined us on the team bus, went right into the hotel and registered, and Campy and the others followed. That was Jack — he got the job done."□

RACIST ATTACK ON BLACK PLAYERS UPHELD

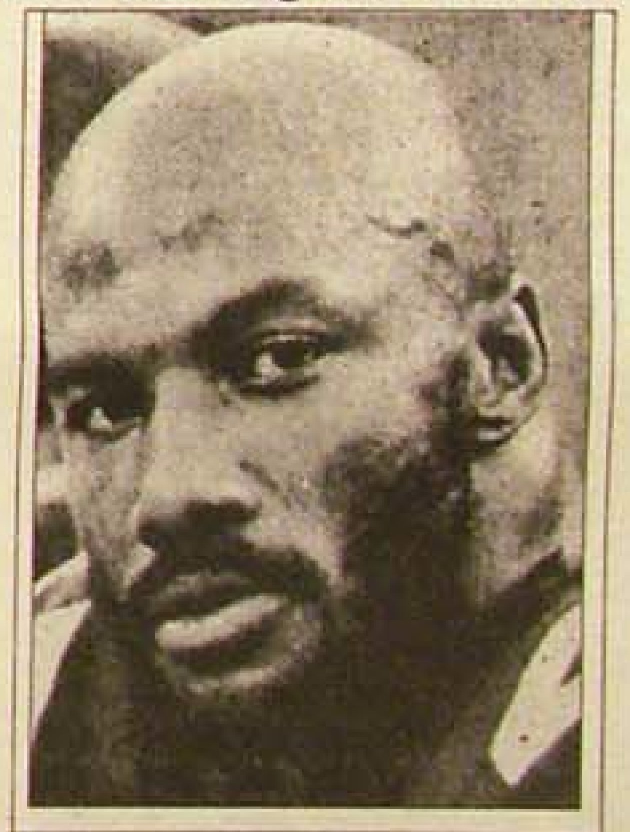
Oakland Raider Loses Slander Suit Against Steeler Coach

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Oakland Raider George Atkinson's $2 million slander suit against racist Pittsburgh Steeler's coach Chuck Noll, who said Atkinson was part of a "criminal element in the National Football League (NFL)," was rejected by a jury last week.

The all-White, middle-aged jury panel of four women and two men deliberated for four hours before freeing Noll from paying any damages to Atkinson, who insisted that his reputation was seriously undermined.

"This case never should have gone to trial," Atkinson explained before the verdict. "All I ever wanted was a retraction from coach Noll."

Atkinson's suit stemmed from remarks made by Noll following the 1976-77 season opener between the Super Bowl-bound Raiders and their arch nemesis, the Steelers.



MEL BLOUNT

Noll charged that a devastating tackle made by Atkinson on Steeler wide receiver Lynn Swann (which caused Swann to have a concussion) was illegal and done with "intent to maim and not with football in mind."

"You have a criminal element in every society," said Noll, in reference to Atkinson.

When questioned in court about this, Noll stated that three of his own players — defensive backs Mel Blount and Glen Edwards and defensive lineman "Mean" Joe Greene, all of whom are Black — were part of the same "criminal element" as Atkinson and Tatum. Atkinson and Tatum are Black also.

Although Noll emerged as the victor in this case he still has one more slander suit to face. His own All-Pro defensive back, Mel Blount, has filed a $5 million court action against the coach for the remarks made during the Atkinson trial.

Blount has not shown up in training camp, which opened this week, and has vowed to never play for Noll again.□

Minimum Wage Demands

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
introduced legislation to increase the minimum wage to $2.85 an hour and eliminate the "tip credit."

But as the legislation has wound its way through the political wheelings and dealings, the "tip credit" elimination has been largely junked.

"It's doubtful the elimination will pass," says Ken Michaeljohn, the AFL-CIO's top lobbyist on the bill.

Would the federation fight for a gradual phaseout of the "tip credit"? "Well, we'll have to see," Michaeljohn told the *Guardian*.

Two weeks ago the Carter administration told the AFL-CIO "what it can get": a boost to $2.65 an hour and no support for any broadening of the minimum wage law's coverage. The AFL-CIO has given up on the Dent bill and will now support a compromise measure calling for the $2.65 minimum.

The proposal will leave the nine million workers currently earning less than $2.65 an hour still 27 cents below the poverty line of $2.92 an hour. Such a wage is essential for supporting an urban family of four with a "minimal" standard of living, according to government figures.

The AFL-CIO had originally advocated a $3 an hour minimum.

The new bill would also fix the minimum permanently at 53 per cent of the average hourly manufacturing wage.

The federal minimum has historically been about 45 to 50 per cent of the manufacturing average and the 53 per cent figure represents only a small advance. Inflation is projected to rise at a faster rate than would a minimum tied to the manufacturing average.

Food service workers are not the only ones who would continue to get the short end of the minimum wage stick. Contrary to popular belief, the federal minimum wage laws cover only 58 per cent of the workforce.

The largest sector of the workforce left uncovered is the over two million farmworkers in the U.S. They toil for an average wage of $1.90 an hour.

Workers in many small shops do not come under federal minimum wage protection. In the 10 states that do not have minimum wage laws (all in the South) workers can be paid whatever the boss decides.

Only those businesses that engage in interstate commerce are covered by the federal minimum.

Nor are state, county and municipal employees protected by minimum wage legislation. A Supreme Court decision last year found that the federal statute could not be applied to state employees.

Another pool of subminimum-wage labor, high school students who work part time, will also remain intact. The federal minimum wage law allows employers to pay students only 85 per cent of the minimum.

Last year some eight million teenagers were working at the subminimum rate.□



Black and poor workers are leading the fight for a larger boost in the minimum wage. The proposed increase to $2.65 is still 27 cents below the poverty line of $2.92 an hour.

Carter Blasted For Neglect Of Poor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9
charges when he addressed the breakfast meeting of the convention the following day.

In an interview with the *New York Times* prior to his speech, Jordan attacked Carter for his stand against federal aid for abortions for poor women. Jordan also took issue with the administration's abandonment of efforts to obtain mandatory election day registration procedures in national elections and Carter's proposal to abolish the Electoral College, a mechanism that Jordan says gives minorities an edge in voting.

Meanwhile, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) charged last week that the "entire performance" of the Carter administration has been poor.

In a 60-page review, the ACLU declared:

"At a time when organized opposition to the exercise of Constitutional rights by minority groups is increasingly strong, the Carter administration has at worst encouraged this opposition, and has often been passive in efforts to protect minority rights."

The ACLU blasted the White House for "backing away" from campaign promises to "make the national security establishment accountable to American citizens."□


Detroit unemployment line. Carter has "no apologies" for the fact he has turned his back on the Black and poor voters who put him in office.

Illegally Dumped Garbage Angers West Oakland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
At a community meeting the previous Thursday aimed at "cleaning up West Oakland," residents bitterly complained about illegally operated junk yards in the area.

The majority of the owners of 65 junk yards in West Oakland do not have permits, it was revealed at the meeting.

Most of the junk yard owners were not present. Johnny Lyons, whose junk yard is located at 1717-1724 11th Street did attend.

He insisted he had a legal license to operate his business.

Lyons asked the group, "What would you like me to do?"


BPINS photo

West Oakland residents are angry over illegally dumped garbage and fire trap abandoned housing.

The audience practically in unison, shouted, "Move it."

Lyons responded, "I'll move it, if you find me somewhere to go."

He said, "I have 25 years of service tied up in the property, and I just can't walk away from it."

Again in unison, the crowd shouted, "Move it or clean it up."

Ms. Antonnette Sanders suggested that the city hire people who live in West Oakland who are presently unemployed to clean up the junk yards.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the group went to a Piedmont home to confront one of the junk yard owners.

According to John Stuart, Jr., the owner became very irate. Stuart said the group plans to follow this procedure in the future.□

B.P.P. Demands

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numerous prisoners housed in the County Jail facility in the courthouse building to register a serious complaint concerning the continuing conduct of Deputy Sheriff M. Lawrence.

"It has been brought to my attention that Deputy Lawrence has made a routine practice of harassing females visiting inmates at the county jail. He has made advances and offensive remarks not only to adult visitors, but also to teenage girls. In a most distressing recent incident, Deputy Lawrence accosted a young woman named Raymonde Mitchell, whom he had previously seen visiting at the county jail, and made sexually suggestive remarks to her.

"Needless to say, such conduct on the part of one of your deputies is most inappropriate. His behavior has called itself to the attention of the entire inmate population, and they are justifiably outraged. On their behalf, and for the sake of good morale and decorum, I ask that you initiate an investigation into officer Lawrence's conduct immediately, and that you terminate his assignment to the county jail so that he will no longer be in a position to annoy visitors.

"I appreciate your attention to this matter, and look forward to hearing from you concerning your investigation."

As the letter states, it would be in the best interest of all concerned that Lawrence be removed from his county jail assignment immediately to head off an inmate uprising against his low sexual advances toward their loved ones.□

J.P. Stevens

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

making up nearly 75 per cent of the workers at the plant, many had had organizing experience during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s.

Conditions at the plant, as at the other Stevens plants, are terrible.

The prime grievances are brown lung — a suffocating respiratory disease caused by inhaling cotton dust — poor pay and no job security.

"Until the union came I never knew when I might be out the door," said one young worker at a recent union meeting.

The union's broad support was evidenced most recently in preparations for a court battle against the company.□

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

A.A.H.S. ORGANIZES SOUTH CAROLINA PRISONERS

Dear Comrades:

I am a party member, political prisoner, and a participant of the Afro-American History Seminar (AAHS) behind the walls of Central Correctional Institution, Columbia, South Carolina.

I would like to give the readers of THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service insight into the organizational structure and function of AAHS collective; especially the prison class of America that has been subjected to a telling blow by the United States Supreme Court, on the rights of prisoners to organize.

AAHS has undergone an educational process of growth and development for four years in order to maintain existence within this maximum security institution. As a result, we recognize the political, economical, and cultural interconnection (with society at large) as being concrete conditions that shape our lives.

In our efforts to gain an outlook, the philosophical principles, laws and scientific concept of dialectical materialism guide the theoretical and practical activities of AAHS.

We realize to be born Afro-Americans — to go through the traditional process within the institutions of Westernized thought — that we are conditioned to think and act toward certain social phenomena in a metaphysical, idealist and superstitious way. The AAHS opposes that deceptive method of thinking, which ultimately distorts the objective reality surrounding our existence.

AAHS is basically a study group, consisting of active committee members dedicated to the education of the masses of Black people particularly, poor oppressed people generally. AAHS' theme is: "Educate to liberate," with a collective line. Its external activities can be seen whenever the collective participates in positive and progressive educational programs for the inmate population and local people from South Carolina's community. AAHS has sponsored African Liberation Day programs since 1974:

"On May 28, 1977, the Afro-American History Seminar celebrated its fifth annual African Liberation Day program inside South Carolina's Central Correctional Institution.

"The program was presented on this institution's recreation field from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. to a very receptive 600-700 inmates throughout the course of the day.

"Seminar members conveyed an expression of revolutionary communal and intercommunal solidarity with progressive leadership in the United States' poor and oppressed community, the current struggle being waged and won in southern Africa and the Third World. The solidarity was expressed with an understanding of the interconnection between the revolutionary camp which is struggling against capitalism — imperialist — colonial exploitation and oppression. . ."

On the following night of African Liberation Day, 30 sisters from the Women's Correctional Center (South Carolina's maximum security institution for women) were able to attend a program in "A Tribute to Black Women." The program was a presentation coordinated by AAHS.

Just recently the AAHS made a written proposal to the sisters incarcerated there to form a study group along the line of our operation, that is, to raise their own level of consciousness to concrete conditions that affect their lives and to change them.

During the month of February, AAHS held a series of four programs in recognition of Afro-American History Month (see March 26, 1977, BLACK PANTHER, Letters to the Editors, pg. 25). A program was held each week to make tributes to Malcolm, George and Jonathan Jackson, Black women — all the Fallen Comrades who have died in the struggle for liberation, and the inmate population here.

However, the United States Supreme Court decision to leave the rights of prisoners to organize to the discretion of the prison administration(s) could perhaps affect AAHS's capacity to function. Six days after the high court's decision was handed down, AAHS's regular three meeting nights were cut to one.

"Educate to Liberate." Free Huey!

James R. Ford
Afro-American History Seminar
Program Committee Representative
Central Correctonal Institution
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

C.I.A. Project

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"bulbocapnine," a drug that can cause stupor or induce a catatonic state, in monkeys and convicts incarcerated at" an unnamed state penitentiary. The agency wanted to know if the drug caused the "loss of speech in man, loss of sensitivity to pain — loss of memory, loss of will power;"

•A letter from an unnamed CIA official in 1949 discussed ways of killing people without leaving a trace.

"I believe that there are two chemical substances which would be most useful in that they would leave no characteristic pathological findings, and the quantities needed could be easily transported to places where they were to be used," the letter said.

The letter also suggested exposure of an individual to X-rays, subjecting a person to a cold environment in which he would freeze to death, or, if these methods were too difficult, two methods needing no special equipment would be to "smother the victim with a pillow or to strangle him with a wide piece of cloth, such as a bath towel."

The documents given to Marks were heavily edited, apparently for security reasons, but they showed that even while the CIA was operating this program it was conscious of its questionable nature.

One 1950 memorandum, on finding psychiatrists to conduct experiments, noted that one applicant's "ethics might be such that he might not care to cooperate in certain more revolutionary phases of our project."

But it said another candidate's "ethics are such that he would be completely cooperative in any phase of our program, regardless of how revolutionary it may be."

A 1963 inspector general's report that apparently resulted in a program being discontinued noted "the concepts involved in manipulating human behavior are found by many people both within and outside the agency to be distasteful and unethical."

According to Mark's documents and an earlier Senate investigation, the CIA conducted secret medical experiments from 1949 through 1963 under the code names Bluebird, Artichoke MK-Ultra and MK-Delta.

The CIA inspector general report in 1963 described the program as the "research and development of chemical, biological and radiological materials capable of employment in clandestine operations to control human behavior."□

Philly Brutality

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

son were in the wrong place at the wrong time. The police were swarming on the corner, trying to break up an argument by a couple of teen-agers they "believed" was a gang fight. Walker heard the cops telling people to disperse. But he did not see them rush him from behind.

LIP RIPPED

Walker was beaten in the head and ribs. Anderson's lower lip was almost ripped off by the blackjack blow of a cop. Walker's grandmother's house nearby was invaded by cops as the two youths fled to it. Invaded and ransacked. Neither Walker nor Anderson were convicted.

Al Goode was a recent victim. He made the mistake of asking police to move their patrol car from his West Philadelphia gas station.

"If you don't get out of my way," police officer Newsome told him, "I'll blow your face off."

The cop then roared away, only to return with at least six more police who stalked Goode down in his garage and beat him to within an inch of his life with night-sticks, blackjacks, fists, and boots.



March against Philadelphia police terror.

Goode was in critical condition for a time. Now he suffers from headaches and fears for his life.

A number of witnesses to the assault backed up his story, and confirmed the comment from a cop who joined in the rampage against Goode.

"That's the hardest-head nigger I ever hit."

On June 15, the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia released findings of a lengthy survey of the police. It stressed that cop terror is very "widespread" and that the "bad apple theory alone is not sufficient to explain police abuse."

Of a reported 272 Philadephia police beatings in 1976, for instance, nearly half occurred *inside* police stations.

Only 12 per cent of those assaulted by cops in the streets were convicted of charges they faced.☐





At right, Black mother speaks out at support rally for the DAWSON 5 (above).

Mass Rally For Dawson 5

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

qualified to sit on a jury. The southwest Georgia county is nearly 70 per cent Black now, yet not a single Black person holds an elected city or county office.

The 1970 census said 58.3 per cent of Black families here had incomes below the poverty level. The median income for Black women was $1,250 a year, and one-third of them worked as domestics. The average Black man had dropped out of school in sixth grade, the average Black woman in the eighth.

WHITE MAN SHOT

It was in this context that on January 22, 1976, a White ranch foreman, Gordon "Bubba" Howell, 62, was shot to death in a country grocery owned by another White man, Linward "Tiny" Denton.

A week later, five young Black men, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty, were arrested and charged with murder. Prosecutors said they would ask for the death penalty.

Police say Denton identified one of the men as Roosevelt Watson, and that Watson confessed and implicated others.

THREATENED

Watson admits he confessed, but only after officers threatened to shoot him, castrate him, and electrocute him if he did not. Watson says he was told he was being hooked to an electric chair when officers wired him to what turned out to be a lie detector.

These questions did not bother the prosecutors, who put all five in jail under $100,000 bond. Three remain in jail, having served eighteen months without being tried. One was bailed out after nine months, another after sixteen.☐

" Born on the Fourth of July "

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

Hurricane Streets? He was a living reminder of something terrible and awful. No matter what they said to him, no matter how much they tried to twist and bend things, he held on to what he knew and all the terrible things he had seen and done for them. They had buried the corporal and the children he had killed in the ground, but he saw still sitting and breathing in his wheelchair, and now the last thing he could do for them if he wasn't going to die was to disappear.

"He knew too much about them. He knew, goddamn it, like no one else would ever know. They were small men with small ideas, gamblers and hustlers who had gambled with his life and hustled him off to the war. They were smooth talkers, men who wore suits and smiled and were polite, men who wore watches and sat behind big desks sticking pins in maps in rooms he had never seen. . .men who had long-winded telephone conversations and went home to their wives and children. They were like the guys on telephones who hid the little pea under the three cups, moving them back and forth, back and forth, until you got real confused and didn't know where the hell anything was. They had never seen blood and guts and heads and arms. They had never picked up the shattered legs of children and watched the blood drip into the sand below their feet. It was they who were the little dots, the small cheap things, not him and the others they had sent to do their killing."

And in the end, despite the bitterness, despite the despair, confusion, *Born on the Fourth of July*, signals an "Independence Day" of a different sort, of a liberation whose diferent tune Kovic and others march to today.☐

Committee Mobilizes Support

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

nurses plotting the poisoning nor did the prosecution present any motive.

A former nursing supervisor, Betty Jakim, told psychiatrists she had been responsible for the killings at the hospital, yet neither the prosecution nor the FBI investigated this. Jakim, who committed suicide in February of this year, was confined to a mental hospital after a breakdown this year yet no investigators questioned her.

Supporters of the two nurses, who are presently free on bond, contend that the two Filipinos are being used for scapegoats to cover up the inadequate and inefficient care given patients in V.A. hospitals.

At two Bay Area meetings last Sunday in Oakland and San Francisco, support committees, led by the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), were formed to publicize the case, circulate a petition, raise funds and to organize support for a mass rally on the day of sentencing, set for the first week in September.☐

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

INHUMANE JAIL CONDITIONS CONTINUE IN NEW YORK CITY AFTER BLACKOUT ARRESTS

(New York, N.Y.) — Conditions in New York City jails remain abominable two weeks after mass arrests, resilting from the city's blackout, crammed thousands of Black and poor people behind bars, with reports of at least four deaths occurring in detention centers here.

Over 3,800 arrests occurred during the 25-hour blackout, and hundreds are still in jail awaiting arraignment or unable to post bail. Prisoners are being held 30 or more to a cell in a record-breaking, sweltering 100-degree or more heat wave — with filth, inadequate medical care and food characterizing the jail conditions.

So far there has been only one confirmed death although there are reports that at least four people have died due to negligence on the part of jail officials. Many of those locked up insist that they were arrested just for being on the street while the widespread looting was going on.

One woman, standing outside of the Brooklyn courthouse, who had not heard from her brother for nearly a week, was furious over the conditions inmates have been subjected to.

"People are dying," she told a BLACK PANTHER reporter, "people are suffering, they ain't eating, people are sleeping on top of each other, pregnant women are sick, and women with menstrual periods cannot even wash."

A Black man just released from jail talked angrily of having to live in stench and human waste after being arrested for no cause. He even recalled cops locking up store owners who had come to protect their store.

Another man, released after being held for nearly a week, told a BLACK PANTHER reporter that when he asked cops when he was going to be arraigned, they snarled back, "If you don't have any money, forget it."

When police were summoned to help a diabetic dying from a lack of medicine, the jailer's response was, "Fuck him, let him die," the man reports.

The jail conditions were "like a dog house," said the man, "with an odor that was out of this world. The police took us for a joke."

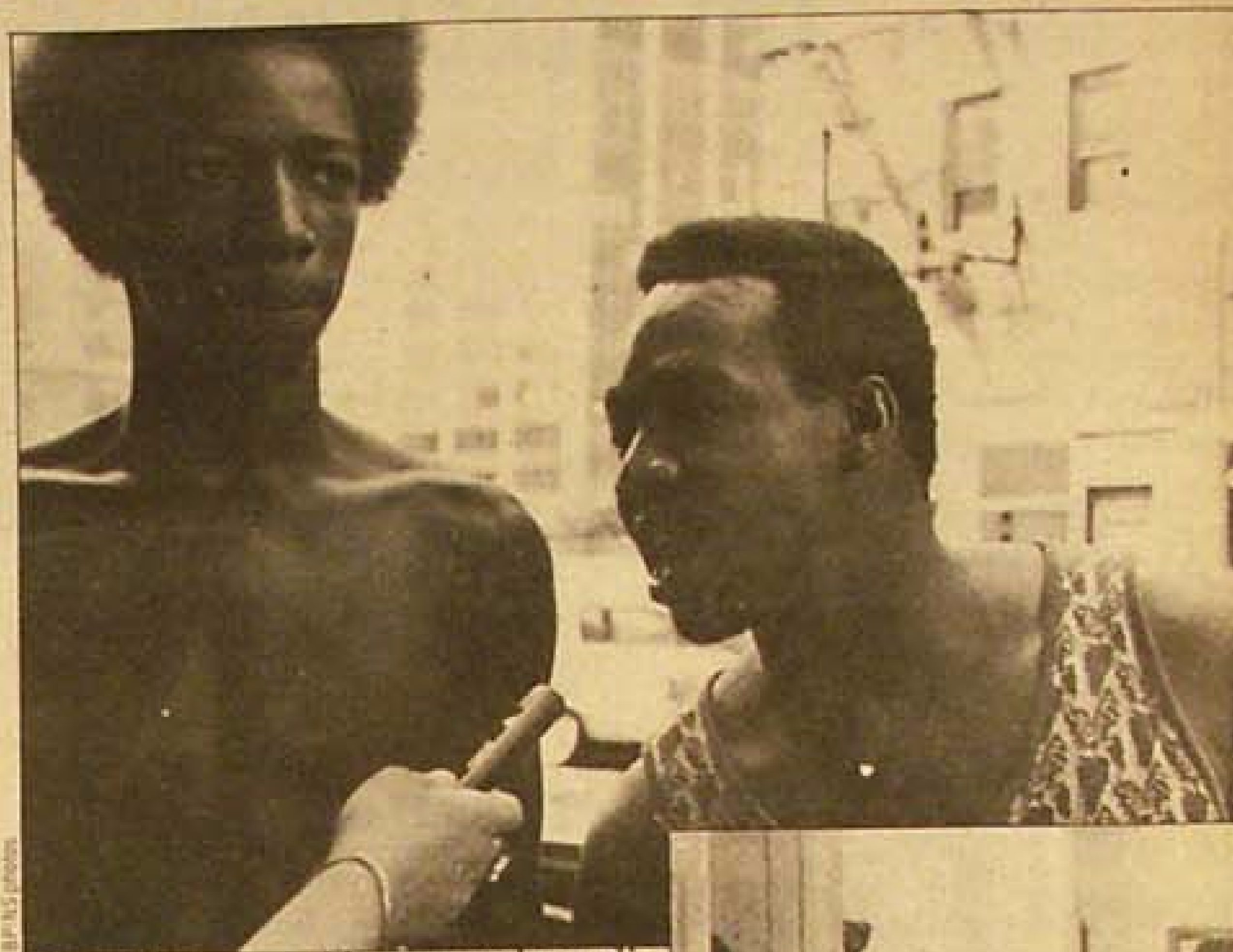
A Black youth, just arrived from South Carolina, was forced to walk from jail to jail all over the city looking for his brother. Based on what he had heard, the young man said, "My brother is in the basement. It's a real tragedy — since the city is going to get its money back anyway.

"This is a poverty area," he went on, "and you have to have some way of 'getting over.' New York is the money state anyway. The way they are treating people is pathetic. Some people are leaving jail without their shirts.

"The only thing I can say to Mayor Beame and the judges," the Black youth continued, "is don't let their ignorance dominate their intellectual stupidity."

Another man was looking for his 51-year-old brother, who was picked up on the way home from work.

"The police are trying to make trouble," he continued, "by not giving out any information."





New York man blasts cruel conditions in New York jails and (right) friends and relatives line up in courthouse to inquire about their loved ones.



Many of the prisoners still under incarceration were herded up and arrested without being formally charged or taken through the normal booking procedure, causing friends and relatives to rely on hearsay in locating their loved ones.

All of the prisoners being released at the courthouse remarked on how callously jail officials had acted toward them, adding that no efforts were made to alleviate their condition.

National news publications such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, with their racist articles, devoted much print to the so-called "night of terror" (in the words of Mayor Abraham Beame) caused by looters, with little mention of the horror innocent men and women have been subjected to in the city's jails.

While the magazines commended police for their "restraint," eyewitnesses told BLACK PANTHER reporters of merciless beatings meted out to prisoners.

Prisoners also told of cops openly participating in the looting themselves, stashing stolen goods in their patrol cars before taking them home.

One Jewish storekeeper, arrested while defending his store, developed an immediate understanding of police brutality and inhumane jail conditions, and sided with the plight of the Black and poor inmates, offering financial help, according to one prisoner.

Meanwhile, elected officials in New York are irate over President Carter's refusal to declare New York a disaster area. After heavy pressure the Carter administration finally announced a $11.3 million program of federal grants and loans for New York City.

A quick analysis of the $11.3 million program shows that it will create only 2,000 short-term jobs in poverty areas despite the fact that the widespread looting was directly tied to Depression-level unemployment.

While intellectuals and sociologists pondered over the causes of the looting one Black youth simply stated:

"Being that the lights are out and the niggers are going hungry, we're going to take what we want—and what we want is what we need."

Another Black youth commented, "We made a mistake in '65 (the city's last blackout), but we're going to clean up in '77. We want to go in like rats so that tomorrow they won't be able to go to the stores—there won't be any. They'll have to build this same hole all over again." □